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# WEEKLY PEOPLE

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## OHIO S. L. P.

UNDAUNTED BY "THE BATTLE OF THE BALLOTS."

Building on the Firm Rock of Class-Consciousness, It Defies the Elements of Capitalism and Presses On With Renewed Vigor and Determination.

[Special to The People.]

Cleveland, O., Nov. 17.—The battle of ballots is over. "We have met the enemy and we are theirs." But unlike the Hon. Lucius F. C. Garvin, the single tax initiative and referendum democratic candidate for Governor, who triumphed in Rhode Island, the single tax, municipal ownership all-around reformer, Democratic Tom L. Johnson, candidate for Governor of Ohio, went down to inglorious defeat with a plurality, the largest ever given a Governor in Ohio, of 114,000 piled upon his back by the brutal Marcus A. Hanna and the smiling Myron T. Herrick. In Rhode Island the middle-class advocate triumphed; in Ohio the large capitalist class advocates were victorious.

But it matters little to the working class whether a member of the middle class or one of the large corporationists rides it, for in either event we are the beasts of burden, we are ridden for the rider's benefit. But, out of it all, there are some gleams of comfort for the S. L. P. We have always contended that the S. L. P. was founded upon the rock of class consciousness, while the S. P. had built their party upon the shifting sands of "intellectualism" and "sentimentality." We have also contended that when the fierce winds of capitalism blew, and the rains descended and the floods came and beat upon the S. L. P. structure, it would not fall, for it is founded upon a rock; but that on the other hand when these same winds of capitalism beat upon the S. P., or Kangaroo structure, it would fall and great would be the fall thereof, for it is founded upon the shifting sands.

Now what were the peculiarly fierce winds of capitalism in our case? Well, in the first place the Catholic Federated Societies of Ohio met in Columbus and solemnly warned members of their church and Catholics generally not to vote for Socialism. This happened about three weeks before the election. Then, too, from every stump Republican speaker, from Hanna and Herrick down to the ward-healers and fourth-class spellbinders, reiterated the lie that Tom L. Johnson was a Socialist. The fact that Tom L. Johnson favored the single tax and municipal ownership of public utilities was also thrust in our faces by bogus Socialists and single-taxers as a reason why "all radicals should unite on Tom" as they put it. Now, in spite of these two fierce winds of capitalism, the genuine Socialists, or S. L. P., emerged from the storm with 472 votes to their credit in Cuyahoga County. Last fall we polled for the head of the ticket 679, showing a loss of only 207 votes. How fared it with our friends, the bogus Socialists, or S. P.? Last fall they polled for Max Hayes, the head of their ticket, 2,199 votes. This year they dropped with a dull, sickening thud, to 1,447 votes, a loss of 752 votes. In other words, while we of the class conscious S. L. P. army stood almost like a stone-wall against the flood-gates of capitalism, the S. P. lost over three times as many votes as we did. In fact the Cleveland Citizen (Kangaroo Socialist) is afraid to publish the S. L. P. vote of Cuyahoga County for fear their dupes may make unfavorable comparisons between the slight loss of the S. L. P. and the tremendous falling off of the "Socialist" party vote.

We of the S. L. P. of Cuyahoga County and Cleveland, O., are not discouraged. Our faces are towards the front. We will push the circulation of the Daily and Weekly People. We will continue to show the folly of the working class in voting the clubs into the hands of the police, the bayonets into the hands of the militia and the guns into the hands

of the regular army that they may slaughter working men in time of strike, as they are doing now in Chicago. The fight will continue as long as rostrums invite the Goerkes, and Dingers and Kirchers and hosts of others to speak from them; as long as ink invites master hands to grasp the pen and write their thoughts on paper; as long as printing presses invite the master hand of the mechanic to set the wheels in motion, and make the written thoughts of men appear in cold type upon the printed page—that he who runs may read and reflect thereon. So long will the seeds of the oncoming social revolution be sown. Through sunshine and storm, through evil and good report, through victory and defeat the good work will go on, and with MacDuff, "Damned, thrice damned, be he who first cries, Hold, enough!"

On and over on "Comrades." Not what we have done, but what we are doing now for Socialism should be the question. On, and still onward and upward, the red heart of the social revolution beckons us!

## GOMPERS AGAIN CHOSEN PRESIDENT OF A. F. OF L.

The "Socialist" Vote Splits in Two on Him.

[Special to The People.]

Boston, Mass., Nov. 21.—Samuel Gompers, the bombastic, flamboyant Samuel, tool of Mark Hanna, and trusted labor lieutenant of the capitalist class, was to-day re-elected President of the American Federation of Labor for the 21st time.

When notified of his election Gompers made a speech in which he asserted his great value as a labor leader. Said Samuel, with the pompous air of a Pullman porter:

"My highest purpose is to serve the cause of labor. I have no other aim, I have no other fad, I am committed to nothing but the trade union movement."

After several minutes spent in pronouncing praises of himself, Gompers sank into his chair, uttering his stage grunt as he sat down. The Kangaroos, or bogus Socialists, writhing under the lash of S. L. P. criticism and action, thought that they would get back at Gompers for his attitude on their pet resolutions, which were killed on Thursday, so they nominated Delegate Ernest Kretz, of Philadelphia, one of the "Alte Genossen," to oppose Gompers, with the result that Gompers got 12,524 votes, and Kretz got 1,134, or 1,051 less than the "Socialist" resolutions received. Many of the bogus Socialists, lacking all sense of shame and honor, and controlled by anti-Socialist instructions from their unions, voted for Gompers.

## HOLYOKE'S CITY TICKET.

S. L. P. Nominates Candidates for December City Election.

Holyoke, Mass., Nov. 11.—Section Holyoke, S. L. P., has made these nominations for the city election, to be held on Dec. 8:

Mayor,  
MORITZ E. RUTHER.  
Treasurer,  
MAX H. TIEDEMANN.  
Alderman-at-Large,  
HENRY NOFFKE.  
Alderman—Ward 2,  
HENRY ST. CYR.  
Alderman—Ward 3,  
MAX K. TIEDEMANN.

## COLUMBUS, ATTENTION!

The sixth anniversary dance and social of Section Columbus, Ohio, S. L. P., will be held at Buckeye Hall, 711-2 East State street, on Monday evening, Nov. 30. Admission, 15 cents.

The committee urges the co-operation of the readers of The People in Columbus in making this affair both a financial and a social success. The Party here requires funds to liquidate debts and carry on propaganda work, so that those who attend will not only be afforded an opportunity to spend a pleasant evening, but also help along a good cause.

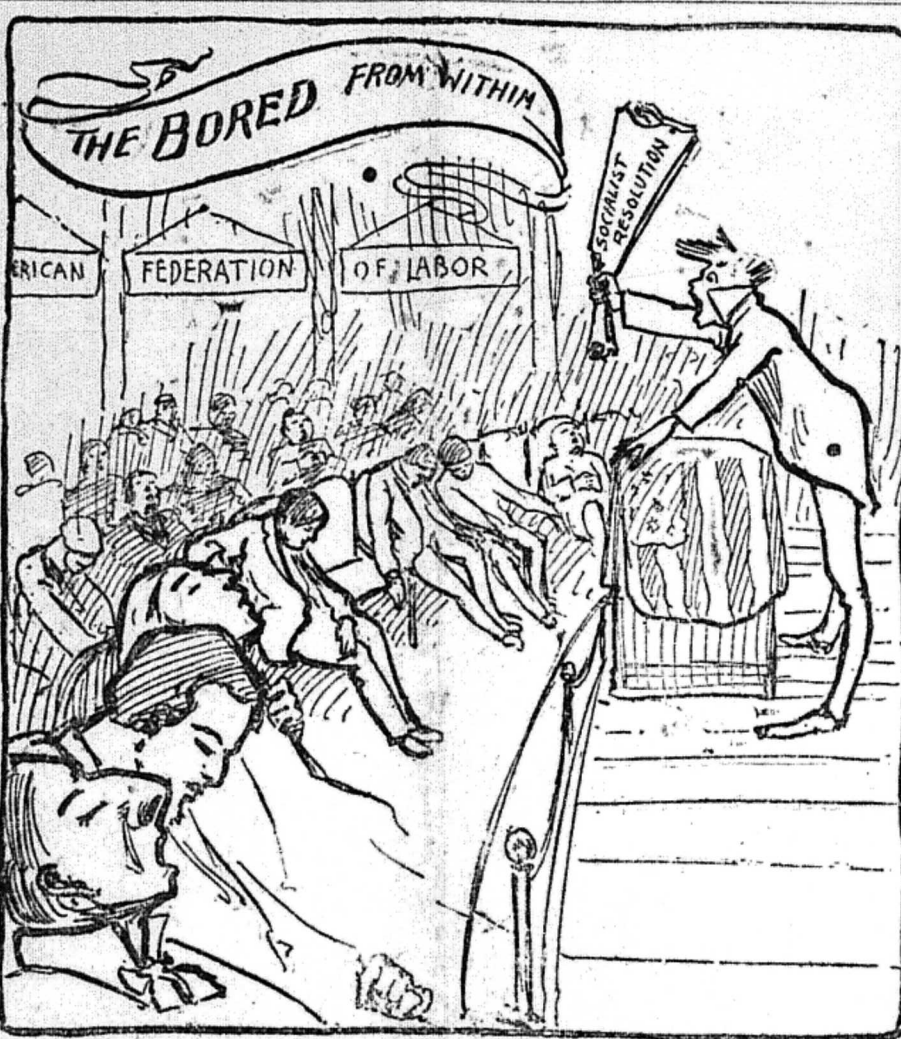
Entertainment Committee.

## PHILADELPHIA LECTURES.

Lectures under the auspices of the Socialist Labor Party will be held on November 29, "Trade Unionism, New and Old," J. Alexander; December 6, "Political and Political Parties," Edmund Seidel; December 13, "The Labor Question," Joseph Campbell, at Dehren Hall, 2434 Kensington avenue, Philadelphia, Pa.

Lectures begin at 3 o'clock p. m. sharp. Comrades should see that these lectures are well attended.

If you receive a sample copy of this paper it is an invitation to subscribe. Subscription price: 50 cents per year; 25 cents for six months. Address Weekly People, 2-4 New Reade street, New York City.



## ECHOES FROM BOSTON

(The below article was first published in these columns on December 16, 1900. It was that year entitled "Echoes from Louisville, Ky." The article was a pictorial synopsis of the "Debate on Socialism" that took place at the Louisville convention of the A. F. of L. of that year. That synopsis portrayed so graphically, philosophically and lucidly, not the "Debate" of that year only, but also the previous nine periodically recurring "Debates on Socialism" in the annual conventions of the A. F. of L.; in fact, it was such a graphic photograph of the downright farcical principle which underlies these A. F. of L. "Debates on Socialism," and that is bound to continue to underlie them so long as the A. F. of L. continues to exist, that it has since been reproduced in these columns from year to year, headed by the above cartoon, and with the promise and forecast that it will continue to reappear in these columns from year to year until the day shall have come when—emancipated by Socialist Labor Party consistent and persistent teaching from the intellectual thralldom that to-day holds the bulk of the toilers under the yoke of the Labor Fakir, the Labor-Lieutenants of the capitalist class—the working class of the land shall have risen in their might and overthrown for all time the scabby crew of freaks and frauds that annually meets to "debate" Socialism at these A. F. of L. conventions, that is, at these annual Auction Sales of Labor. The below synopsis was, accordingly, republished in 1901 under the title "Echoes from Scranton," and in 1902 under the title "Echoes from New Orleans." In obedience to the promise made in 1900, and in keeping with the facts, which every intelligent man, if honest, and every honest man, if intelligent, knew would substantially recur, the synopsis is again reproduced this year and with the same promise and forecast for the future, under the title "Echoes from Boston.")

The undaunted dozen threw themselves valiantly into the fray for Socialism at the American Federation of Labor convention. The fray was partly on the floor of the convention hall, partly in the brains of some of the contestants, but mostly on the reputations of those who fought the good fight. There were in appearance only two sets of contestants. In fact there were three. There were, in the first place, the stalwarts who never blanch in the face of the most terrible wrong, when they did it themselves, and who never retreated unless somebody said some-

thing after their first set up. They were the solid phalanx, the "staunch defenders of Socialism" at every convention of the American Federation of Labor, but whose Socialism was afflicted with a strong taint of Republicanism or Democracy as it was over. This did not matter, because they were Socialists again as soon as another convention came. That was the first set.

On the other side were the men who "opposed" Socialism, and would be terribly offended if it did not make its appearance. For this reason it was always slated to appear, and that it might give offense to none it appeared in such disguise that those to whom it was most dear would never recognize it. It had been the center of many a stirring fight, and then its mangled remains were taken out and placed in cold storage for future reference. That was the second set.

There was a third set, the gudgeons, for whose sake the sham fight was gone through every year. They fought on the side of the first set, and glowered at, and were themselves glowered at by the second set. The "Socialist," alias gudgeon, delegates had introduced a resolution, THE resolution. They waited with past tense nerves, and with their passions high wrought, and their trousers turned up for its appearance. It came, it saw—it went again, and nobody was the wiser. When it got the floor, it almost invariably got the table also, but between times there was room enough for those loud and talky debates that mean so much to those who do not understand, and so little to those who do. The enemies of the resolution, in a spirit of zeal and good fellowship, had seen to it that there was no miscarriage in its introduction.

Then commenced the battle royal. The two first sets of men lined up on each side determined to discuss that resolution if it took a whole week at \$6 a day, expenses to be paid by their constituents. There were many hard blows given and taken, and there were many, many blows who gave them. It was so strange and weird that contestants should all have the same object. Of these first two sets, those who supported the resolution did so in order to defeat it; those who opposed it, did so in order to do the same.

Between the two there was a weak puny handful of men, that third set, the gudgeons, who believed that the fight was in earnest—and so it was. It was carried on for the sake of that handful of men. It was carried on so that they might return home and say: "Behold how Socialism is on the increase. Last year at the convention of the Federation we discussed it for 47 hours and 16 minutes. This year we discussed it for 47 hours and 22 minutes, a net increase of six minutes. There is nothing can hold us back."

When the contest was over, and the vote showed that the Federation would not resolve in favor of Socialism, the fighters, still with the smoke of battle and non-union cigars on them, separated in two "hostile" bodies. One, made up

of the two sets of the sham combatants on both sides, made its way to a saloon where ten cent whiskey was sold: the other, made up of the gudgeons who bore and are bored from within, went to a saloon which dispensed five cent whiskey. Then both sides recounted their victory.

"Did you notice," said Gompers when he had filled his glass, after draining in a surreptitious manner the glasses of those about him, "how tractable those fellows became as soon as you let them discuss a thing, and then vote it down? It is the easiest thing in the world. All you have to do is let them talk on a subject and then throw it aside. They are satisfied with the talk." The good cheer opened his heart. "Next year, so help me Moses, we'll give them an increase in their vote. They have been very good boys this year, and they deserve some recognition. We humored them just to have them do all the dirty work this year, and they should not go unrewarded. I shall see that they have two more supporters when we meet again. They are becoming tamer and should be rewarded."

In the other saloon the "triumphant hosts of Socialism," that believed in the free and unlimited coinage of words, sat along the table and vowed death to the capitalist system, and carried out their threat "in our time" by gulping down the products of capitalism.

"Did you notice," said one, "how they quailed when we accused them of not being Socialists?"

"Yes," said another, "we shall win. Why, one man came to me and gave me a dollar to start a colony on Hudson Bay. That could not happen if we jumped on him for thinking differently."

"You got a dollar?"

"Yes, a dollar."

There was a short pause, and those about the table commenced to come nearer to him. It would be impossible to take a trolley car to Hudson Bay to enjoy the fruits of Socialism, but the dollar was still on the premises. It might be a bank note, it might be a silver certificate, and it might be simply two vulgar half dollars. But in sum and substance at any place it would be converted into twenty foaming schooners.

There was a motion put. It was carried, and again peace reigned about the banquet board, but the dollar had departed from their midst, which was now occupied by the gracious spirit of the hop. It warned them up and it aroused their humanitarianism. They waited until the humanitarianism was in such a condition that it could be steered through a dark alley without trying to carry the sides of the wall with it, and then they started to see the men who had donated the dollar, and who were "coming their way."

They found them in the ten cent place enjoying such luxuries as the Union at home could give. A delegation was selected to interview them as there was a decided sentiment against associating with persons who were not class conscious. The delegation returned. The

crowd within would be pleased to receive their fellow workers in a common cause.

This overture was sternly refused because no alliance would be tolerated, but a resolution was drawn up when it was found that one of the inner crowd had given a dollar for the purpose of translating Marx into Sanscrit so that all workmen could read it. The resolution was as follows:

"Whereas, the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, refused the proposition of Socialism; and

"Whereas, notwithstanding the fact that they voted it down, they nevertheless manifested an inclination to study the problem of the working class; and

"Whereas, it is evident that the spirit was one of friendliness to the working class, and the donation was received:

"Be it resolved, that we hereby commend the A. F. of L. for its spirit of tolerance to the working class: and be it further

"Resolved, that we shall come again as soon as this dollar is spent."

Then with three rousing cheers for International Socialism, that bores from within, the dauntless who had bored and bored so assiduously in the Cause, and at the Cause's expense, carefully turned their faces homeward, and then followed them to their destination.

Socialism has made another advance!

## SWITCHTENDERS AND TOWERMEN

Their Conditions Depicted by an Ex-Towerman.

In the western part of the United States the men who are stationed at certain places to throw switches are called switchtenders, while in the eastern part they are called switchmen. In the western country the term switchman means the men that make up trains, couple cars and "spots" them at the large yards.

Throughout the various yards you will see a small shanty that is for the man who has a set of switches. Generally a cripple has the position, but in some big yards, like the Lake Shore and Michigan Southern and the New York Central in Buffalo, they put young men on the switches at \$50 to \$60 per month, and when they are there eighteen months they promote them to be helpers. It is a kind of an apprenticeship to learn to be a switchman (yard brakeman or conductor).

The Switchmen's Union admits them to membership, while the Trainmen's order has so far rejected them. As generally it is an old switchman who secures the position when he loses an arm or becomes otherwise maimed, the Switchmen's Union generally tries to secure advances in wages for them. In case of a strike of switchmen they are useful to the company, as they generally know the yards. That is the principal reason they are taken into the union.

There is another class of men who throw switches. At the Forty-second Street Station of the New York Central. There is a two-story house called a tower. The same kind of towers can be seen in all the large yards. The one in East St. Louis called the relay tower, I will take for an example. There are three or four ways of moving the points from these different towers. Some are thrown by compressed air, some by water, some by electricity and some by a fine system of leverage.

The towermen have the time-cards in front of them. A telegraph operator in the relay tower says: "Wabash No. 6 is one hour late," or "M. & O. No. 3 is on time." He then throws the signals at danger. He can throw a single switch until he does this, as they are interlocked. When all the danger signals governing the route of M. & O. No. 3 is at danger, he can then set the switches for that route, and then he sets the signals clear so that M. & O. No. 3 can get to the Union Depot without stopping. Once the home and distant signal is set for clear, it is utterly impossible for the tower man to throw any switch that would endanger M. & O. No. 3.

All these towers are operated on this principle. It is only a question of a brief training and the man who has average intelligence can operate a tower as well as a veteran.

A mechanical arrangement called a detector bar, makes it impossible to throw a switch while a train is going over it. In case a switch

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## LABOR IN 'FRISCO

SCHMITZ'S ELECTION PROMOTES COMPROMISE TACTICS IN UNIONS.

Musicians Permit Members to Join Militia—Boycotts Under Arbitration—Chinese "Question" Again to the Front—"Socialist" Party Discomfited.

[Special to The People.]

San Francisco, Cal., Nov. 16.—The labor situation in San Francisco has been very quiet since the election. Examination of the returns show that the unions stood pretty solid for Schmitz, although the Casey faction of the U. L. P. and the Building Trades Council undoubtedly adhered to the old parties.

Schmitz's new lease of popularity is already making itself felt in the compromise spirit shown by the recent tactics of the unions of this city. The Musician's Union has given up its long contest and altered its constitution so as to permit its members to join the State militia. The little crop of boycotts of last month is already under arbitration. The carmen's "award," handed in from New York last week by the "Arbitration Commission on the San Francisco street railway controversy," was too flimsy a compromise to deceive the most glibly workingman; yet it was accepted with very little murmuring. There are, however, a few strike threats pending and some talk of boycotting certain employers of Chinese labor.

The Chinese question seems to be coming to the front again in different parts of the State. On the 11th inst., all the mongolians employed in the "Black Oak" mines of Tuolumne County, Cal., were driven out of town by the striking miners of that region. The strikers packed the Chinese, with all their goods and chattels, into carriages hired for the occasion and drove them quietly to the neighboring town of Sonoma. The Chinese minister has petitioned the Government for protection for his countrymen. George W. Campbell, the manager of the "Black Oak," has closed the mine and come to San Francisco where, he asserts, he will await "Federal interference" as the "rioters" can not be restrained by State or county authority.

The strike in the Stockton planing mills threatens the stoppage of building in that city. The tailors are also on a strike there. The Fort Dragg lumbermen are still holding out.

On the 19th of November, a large mass meeting is to be held in the Alhambra Theatre, San Francisco, for the purpose of "bringing about a permanent industrial peace by establishing a board of arbitration." The Committee in charge of this meeting includes Mayor Schmitz and the Kangaroo president of the Labor Council. They do not intend this for a joke either. The First Congregational Church is going to have a finger in this peace, too. It is to hold a discussion on "How Best to Harmonize Labor and Capital," and a member of the Carpenter's Union is invited to represent the side of labor.

The Socialist (?) party is naturally depressed by the falling off of its vote in this city. These so-called Socialists sold their principle for that vote and its loss leaves them completely stranded.

The S. L. P. in San Francisco is more vigorous at the present time than it has been for years. The vote is a small matter to a party which keeps its principles intact.

does not lock when the towerman throws it, he finds it impossible to throw the signal governing that switch to safety.

These men are absolutely at the mercy of the railroad companies. The pay they receive is miserable. In the towers where work is heavy they receive \$45 to \$60 per month, and work eight-hour shifts, but when work is slack they are compelled to work twelve hours for the same wages. Where the towerman has to be a telegraph operator as well, the minimum scale governed by the Order of Railroad Telegraphers is given him, but when it is only a telephone office then the companies employ anyone they please and pay them what they please.

These men are protected by no organization, and, as a rule, are employed by the signalling department. There is only an instance as to how mechanical apparatus has simplified labor. These men should study Socialism, and speed the day when the capitalist class will no longer be able to use their helpless position as a means of still further exploiting them.

An Ex-Towerman.



# SOCIAL EVOLUTION

That everything is in motion; that everything continually changes shape and form; that everything comes into existence and while it "lives" undergoes constant fluctuations and finally "dies," i. e., becomes dissolved into other matter, or ceases to play a part under the shape it once held; that everything is in a state of formation or dissolution, of this there can scarcely any longer be any doubt. Even those who go through life the most unconcerned about their surroundings cannot, at the present time, fail to realize the instability of things because man's range of vision has become infinitely wider than it was years ago, and furthermore, the current of evolution is decidedly swifter and consequently the processes of growth and dissolution are more rapid and can therefore be noticed in a single generation. Therefore, the old adage that, "As things are to-day so have they always been and so will they always remain," can no longer be accepted by any one who is not totally petrified mentally.

Everything is motion! Everything undergoes formation, birth, growth, development, death, and finally dissolution and decay. Shakespeare makes Hamlet say:

"Alexander died, Alexander was buried, Alexander returned into dust, the dust is earth; of earth we make loam; and why of that loam, whereto he was converted, might they not stop a beer-barrel?"

"Imperious Caesar, dead and turned to clay,  
Might stop a hole to keep the wind away:  
O, that that earth, which kept the world in awe,  
Should patch a wall to expel the winter's flaw!"

The rugged mountains may be converted into palaces, rivers may change their course and lakes may become dry; forests are cleared away, and fertile fields and busy cities are seen where formerly was a wilderness; whole towns may perish by fire, hurricanes or earthquakes; empires have fallen, kingdoms have died

away, and social convulsions have taken place almost within the memory of man. Who, in the face of such continual vicissitudes, can dare to preach the doctrine of non-mobility? Modern astronomy has discovered in space planets and solar systems in various stages of formation and decay. Geologists have laid bare in the various strata of the earth's formation diverse eras that have come and gone while this earth has existed. From this we learn that once upon a time the earth was covered with a most luxuriant vegetation. At another there existed the most wonderful insects. Again, monstrous sea animals held sway on our globe. Then there was an era of carnivorous, birds and lizards; then that of mammals, and, finally, as the crowning marvel of the entire series, man appears upon earth. The age of man, therefore, is only a very short period of the earth's existence.

Again, the naturalists of the modern school have demonstrated how animal and vegetable life goes through a continuous evolution, caused by the struggle for existence and the survival of the fittest. Thousands more of individuals are continually born of a species than can find means of subsistence, and, moreover, one kind of life preys upon another. Therefore, it is that out of each generation only a small number survive and reach maturity; and they are those always who are best adapted to the condition in which they live. Then, by transmitting the favorable qualities to their offspring, a species may gradually change in a certain direction and become totally unlike its ancestors. At one and the same time, moreover, there may diverge from the same parent stock several branches, each in different directions and adapted to distinct conditions of life into which they may be forced to seek a livelihood. It is thus that animal and vegetable life changes form. It is thus new species have been created. It is thus man developed from a lower being. It is thus everything in the world ever tends onward and upward.

The astronomers, the geologists, the naturalists are concerned with "nature," i. e., with the unconscious actions of

natural forces, and it is for them to discover the laws which govern these forces. The historians, on the other hand, while in reality dealing with the same laws and the same forces, the same internal and external manifestations, have yet his ground obscured with another element, a new and powerful agent, namely, the conscious action of man, the human will. Man as a free and conscious agent of his own affairs, often takes hold of the natural laws and may thus prove a determining factor either for progress or reaction. Nevertheless, what is seen in natural history is seen in the history of man, namely, that systems have come and gone, institutions have been born, grown, developed and decayed. New societies have taken the place of old ones. Races have lived, races have perished. Empires have held sway, empires have crumbled to dust. Religious ideas that once held the people in awe are now forgotten. Customs and laws have existed that exist no more. Through all this apparent chaos of human history the historic scientists have nevertheless made out one practically straight line, and that line is termed *human progress*. This takes us through the growth and decay of nearly every human institution from the infancy of the race through savagery, which in time had to give way for barbarism, this in turn to ancient, and ancient to modern civilization.

The scientific discoveries which have led to the establishment of the science of evolution, both in relation to natural and human history, are so plain and forceful that to-day these teachings even force their way into the schools and colleges. Force their way into the schools and colleges? What a strange expression! Does truth have to force its way into the institutions of learning to-day? Are not the places that should first discover it? Ought it not to radiate from them? It ought, indeed, but it does not! We may ask why? Why is it that at least in relation to human history the most orthodox ideas are, as yet, disseminated by our institutions of learning? Is it because the "learned" professors and teachers are the last to see the truth?

Perhaps so, in some cases at least, because they are themselves intellectual products of these institutions; but the cause thereof, however, lies deeper.

The schools and colleges, at least in this true in the United States, are upheld either by donations from private capitalists or by appropriations from legislative bodies controlled by the political representatives of capitalists. Therefore, such institutions of learning must become, by virtue of their very existence, subservient to the cause of capitalism, obedient to the good of the class that upholds them. Now, then, to teach the theory of evolution with regard to the past would be all right if the inevitable conclusion would not present itself that, if the history of the past is one of changes, of growth and decay, and of continuous progress, then it can not be possible that we suddenly have come to a stop. The system that now exists, with all its greatness and all its virtues, with all its stupidity and all its horrors, must, if it be the outgrowth of such a past, be only transitory, and hence some time in the future this immense empire of capitalism will eventually collapse and something else take its place; and, furthermore, if the law of progress works, as it is bound to work, in the future as in the past, then this "something" must be higher, grander and better than the present society. From such a mode of reasoning with a person that daily comes in contact with the abuses of capitalism there is but a short step, until that person will gladly add to give the kick which will upset the already rotten structure of capitalism.

The evolution of the past and the present points to the future, and the germs that are there unfolding themselves are those of socialism. But to those who benefit by capitalist exploitation, disorder and crime, the very thought of such a thing is repulsive. Consequently, the public instructors of to-day, the press, the pulpit, the college professor, the teacher, the writer, the lecturer, et al., who draw their salaries and recompenses by the grace of capital, are bound to accept the capitalist system as a finality and the capitalist exploiters as the very

crowning creatures of all creation. Therefore it is that all the mediums of so-called public education are more or less corrupting modern scientific principles and are withholding some of the epoch-making scientific demonstrations. Therefore it is also that at this stage of capitalist development, a stage replete with contradictions, one contradiction among all others is presenting itself, namely, that the unlearned are challenging the wisdom of the "learned," that workmen in rude and simple language are setting forth to their fellow-workers the most perplexing problems of the day, and are able to stand their ground against those who, tutored in orthodox notions, yet have an infinitely better education.

In nature there is the "struggle for existence" which leads to progress; in human history there has been a continuous class struggle. An upper class benefits by what exists and consequently holds to it; a lower and oppressed class suffers by what exists and consequently looks to the future, and therefore it is the class of progress. So it has been, so it is now. The capitalist class desires to perpetuate capitalism, the working class has but one hope—the future and Socialism. The science of evolution, therefore, becomes the gospel of triumph to the working class, and hence it is that its members to-day are discussing the most profound problems, while men of learning keep aloof. In this category, of course, are not included the true scientist, the man of genius, because he pursues his course undaunted by persecutions and uncorrupted by the power of gold, and such men have always been and are to-day the guiding stars of the movement of progress. Science has done its work for the coming revolution. Historic thought has been revolutionized; it now remains to scatter this thought, to revolutionize, so to speak, the mode of thought of the members of the working class; that is, to prepare the ground for the coming revolution, the revolution which the present evolution of industry and society is making inevitable.

Olive M. Johnson.

(To be continued.)

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slandered the Social Democracy, and the ridiculous verbosity of the Sancho Pansa of revisionism, who claimed that the Social Democracy, with profit to itself and no harm to its moral dignity, could perform the loyal obeisances before the Emperor—aroused against the revisionists such a storm of dissatisfaction as had never as yet broken out in the midst of our temperate German comrades. The death warrant of the Red Convention against revisionism complemented in the most appropriate manner the June victory of the German proletariat. Without it the victory would not have been complete.

We heartily applaud the Red Convention; yet, we do not want to deceive ourselves with too rosy hopes. Revisionism received its death warrant; so far, so good. But this warrant has thus far only a moral significance. The revisionists as heretofore still occupy strong positions in the party organization, and this is bad indeed. For they will surely use those positions for new attempts in favor of their tactics. Frankly speaking, we think that the Dresden convention was in a position to do more than it did to weaken the practical influence of the revisionists. We must, however, remark that the question of the positions filled by revisionists in the German party is a very complicated affair. This problem cannot be solved by a mere decision of the convention. The fact is that the working class cannot dispense with the services of the "academicians," as they are called in Germany, or "intellectuals," in our (Russian) parlance.

The German intellectuals are strangely imbued with the bourgeois spirit. Even those "academicians" who break away from the ruling classes to join the ranks of the proletariat, carry in the great majority of instances along with them a considerable quantity of bourgeois prejudices, and this is why they are usually so deeply impressed by bourgeois "criticism" of revolutionary socialism. The "academicians" who join the ranks of the proletariat are, from their very birth so to say, inclined to "criticize Marx." Their education makes possible to them the opportunity of occupying influential positions in the party organization, such as agitators, publicists, editors, etc. It happens that the officers and subordinate officers in the proletarian army are often these very revisionists. At the Dresden convention this showed itself very clearly. But there also another fact, dear to every revisionist, became evident: while the officers and subordinate officers of the great army of labor sympathize with revisionism, the rank and file, the organized workmen, in the real meaning of the term, with its overwhelming majority stands for revolutionary tactics and thoroughly condemns revisionism with all its bourgeois sympathies, and all its would-be "practical" shortsightedness. This is the only reason why revisionism has not till now harmed the German party so much as it would under different conditions: the opportunist aims of the "academicians" were shattered against the revolutionary spirit of the working class.

Still this state of things remains abnormal and rather dangerous. In the sixteenth century, during the great "Peasant War," the peasants, ignorant of military affairs, were compelled to make use of the services of the renegades from the camp of the petit nobility who, on the contrary were well versed in these affairs. The revolting petit nobility were right along the leaders of groups of rebellious peasants, but the dissatisfaction of the petit nobility was far less deep than that of the peasants. Therefore, these nobles were much less consistent in their revolutionary professions than the peasants themselves. Every one of them had, like Faust, two souls in his breast. They were the "revisionists" of that epoch. United by thousands of spiritual ties with the very class against whom they led the revolutionary peasants, they easily came to terms and quite often, again went over to that class, leaving to the mercy of their fate the groups of revolting peasants. Engels remarks that this explains the numerous failures of the peasants.

In recent years—when the "academicians" of Western Europe, who landed in the socialist camp, showed their eagerness to greet each and every at-

tempt to "re-examine" the teachings of Marx, i. e., to weaken the importance and influence of the theory which proved itself the best ideologic expression of the revolutionary aims of the proletariat of to-day—Engels' remark often reluctantly came to our mind. We understood that the cause of this sad occurrence lies with the bourgeois origin of the "academicians," and we often asked ourselves: How will the Social Democracy of Western Europe solve the difficulty of having its most important posts in the party organization filled with people, whose very origin and breeding make them inclined to fear the revolutionary aims of the proletariat rather than uphold them? It is evident that this difficulty must be solved. But it is none the less evident that its solution is not easily found. It will yet more than once engross the attention of the German and the rest of the Western Social Democracy. We say "Western"—as in Russia the condition of affairs at present is different, and her "intellectuals" are much more revolutionary than those of Western Europe. But all who are acquainted with the Russian press know full well that they also are unfortunately distantly related to revisionism.

The Dresden convention paid great attention to this difficulty. This is one of its numerous services. The "orthodox" who were opposed to the revisionists persistently reiterated that these influential positions in the organization may be offered only to those "academicians" who by their zealous work among the rank and file showed that they can sharply toe the revolutionary mark. We regard this measure as absolutely necessary, but fear that it will prove insufficient. If all those "academicians" who land in the ranks of the working class remain under the influence of bourgeois theories, the party will, against its will, have to be indulgent in making its selections, i. e., open the door for new varieties of revisionism. To lessen this danger, fraught with such inconvenient social conditions for the proletariat, it is necessary TO ATTACK THE ENEMY IN HIS OWN QUARTERS. Opposed to the theoretical teachers of the bourgeoisie, who "criticize Marx," phalanxes of the "theoretical teachers of the proletariat" must come forward with their criticism of the latest bourgeois doctrines. And in order that such teachers might appear in the ranks of the proletariat, the International Social Democracy must, first of all, rid itself of that false "practicality" which shows itself so recklessly indifferent to theory, and which in recent years has contagiously spread in its midst. It is only through the influence of this false "practicality" that we can explain the fact that the revisionists so long and with impunity obscured with the propaganda of their petit bourgeois views the class-consciousness of the workmen. It is time for us to grasp that by indifference to our own theoretical teachings, we facilitate the dissemination of bourgeois theories in our midst. Short-sighted "practicality" is very useful to the revisionists; they cannot grapple with theory. But what is healthy to the revisionists is fatal to the "orthodox."

We read with the greatest interest that part of Auer's speech where he, referring to the International Parisian Congress of 1900, says that then Comrade Kautsky did not take so resolute a stand against Millerand as now. This is certainly true, whatever the above-named Comrade may claim. If the German delegation at the last Parisian Congress had been imbued with that resolute opposition to Revisionism which so decidedly triumphed at Dresden, the notorious "countenance resolution" of Comrade Kautsky would not have seen the light even as a project, and then the loyal part of the Russian delegation would have been spared the sad necessity of voting against its German Comrades.

In closing the convention in his usual energetic way, Singer said that his party will remain as before the revolutionary party of the working class. He could go further and say that his party is characterized to-day by a still more revolutionary spirit than a few years previously, when the revisionist campaigns began, which had as object the making of her a peaceful bourgeois social reform party. The Red Convention showed this with remarkable clearness. For this we are heartily grateful to the Red Convention. Hail to the German Social Democracy!

## The "Red Convention" in the "Red State"

Translated from the Russian for THE PEOPLE from "Iskra," Organ of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party.

The representative of the Dresden "Local Committee," Comrade Kaden, while greeting the numerous delegates assembled at Dresden from all parts of Germany, remarked that the Saxons proved themselves worthy of the honor which the German Social Democracy conferred on that state by making their capital the seat of the party convention for that year.

This remark is certainly more than justified. At the last Reichstag elections the class-conscious proletariat of Saxony achieved an immense and brilliant victory which surpassed the dreams of even the most sanguine optimists. Of the twenty-three Reichstag seats to which Saxony is entitled, twenty-two now belong to the Social Democrats.

Saxony is truly the "Red State," as Comrade Kaden remarked in his speech; but if that red state actually deserved the honor to receive the representatives of the great German proletarian army, these representatives, the delegates to the convention, on their part, with few exceptions, showed themselves fully worthy of the honor to convene in the red state, and the Dresden convention may truly be called the "Red Convention."

The most important of its decisions relates to REVISIONISM, or BERNSTEINISM, as it is called in Germany, and it gives the death warrant to this tendency. For this, the International Social Democracy, ought to feel deeply grateful to the Dresden convention. This decision will purify the atmosphere of the German Social Democracy, and thereby alone, will most favorably influence the International Socialist movement. This resolution of the red convention so fatal to Revisionism presages well for the coming International Socialist Congress. Jones, the representative of the English Social Democratic Federation, put it well by saying that the German National Convention bears the utmost significance to the militant proletariat of the whole world.

The clash of opinions at the convention assumed at times a serious character, and the Revisionist attacks on Franz Mehring—who committed himself in this particular instance by a ruthless exposure of their failures and mistakes—were really disgusting. On some good but spineless people this convention, therefore, made a gloomy impression, bordering on complete disappointment. But the fault rather lies with these good but spineless people than with the convention. The behavior of the Revisionists, in their attacks on Mehring, is undoubtedly disgusting, but all the more testified to the desperate condition of the dignified apostles of "criticism," and can in no wise be laid at the door of the German Social Democracy, or of

this particular Dresden convention. As for the passionate anti-revisionist speeches of Bebel and of some of his close adherents, they made on every sane-minded person the most happy, the most refreshing, impression.

It is not at all surprising that the left wing of the German Social Democracy dared to resolutely and passionately attack the Revisionists, but that they thought it politic to humor them so long. A few years ago, when E. Bernstein, the founder of the German Revisionist theory, began his so-called criticism of Marxism, the "Sächsische Arbeiter Zeitung" published a series of articles where it was shown that the question at issue was plain, namely, which of the two was to serve as funeral director to the other, Bernstein to the German Social Democracy, or the reverse. At that time these articles, penned by a Russian Social Democrat, seemed rather rude and unwarranted to almost all German Marxists, without exception, and the leading point brought out in those articles appeared to them a paradox, prompted by extreme polemical ardor. At present, our German comrades are convinced that the triumph of revisionism would mean certain ruin to the Social Democracy, as the party of the revolutionary proletariat, and the resolution on tactics, adopted at the Dresden convention, is, as above mentioned, the death warrant of Bernsteinism.

That paradox now appears to considerably resemble the truth; and though as yet none of the German Social Democrats has broached the question of Mr. Bernstein's funeral, that is his expulsion from the party, it can be probably explained by the fact that, repulsed from all his theoretical premises, abandoned by nearly all his adherents, and compromising himself more and more right along by his gross, characteristic, tactlessness, Mr. Bernstein, "this farcical knight of the forlorn order," appears to them more to be pitied than feared. We haven't the least doubt that in this they are mistaken. Mr. Bernstein thus far is not at all so safe for their party as they imagine, for he will yet do them considerable harm. But this is quite another question which we shall have occasion to touch upon when Mr. Bernstein will again remind his rather indulgent comrades of his "critical" mind by some new, more or less loud, and tactless act. We are also convinced that we will not have to wait long.

But it is the passionate attack of the defenders of "orthodoxy" which concerns us now. And we affirm that far from grieving, it should rather elate all those who have the interests of the proletariat

\*While going to press, we received word that the Second Electoral District of Berlin demands the expulsion of Messrs. Bernstein, Browne and Gera; good!

from the following curious instance, at heart. All great historical achievements are necessarily accompanied by passion, and only he who has boiling blood coursing in his veins can successfully grapple with a formidable social evil. The international admirers of "comrade-like conduct in polemics" don't seem able to grasp that the "orthodox" are in reality by no means comrades to the revisionists, and that they have to fight them tooth and nail if they don't care to betray their own cause. Between these two tendencies there lies a deep, unbridged chasm. To be convinced of this we need but compare, for instance, the resolution of the Dresden convention with that which the incomparable Mr. Bernstein propounded in his notorious book, "Die Voraussetzungen des Sozialismus."

The Dresden convention resolutely and mercilessly condemned "every attempt to stifle the existing and constantly growing class distinctions," while Mr. Bernstein zealously, though ineffectually, obliterated these distinctions with the aid of those statistical sophisms and theoretical analogies which the latest apologists of capitalism so abundantly provided themselves with. The Dresden convention expressed itself categorically as opposed to "the policy of adaptation to the present social order," confronting it "with the old policy of the party, rewarded by colossal triumphs and based on the class struggle," while Mr. Bernstein was the most zealous agitator and the most persistent defender of "the policy of adaptation." The Dresden convention declared that the Social Democracy must remain THE PARTY OF THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION, while Mr. Bernstein persistently invited her to become A PARTY OF SOCIAL REFORM.

In a word, the views of Mr. Bernstein radically contradict the teachings of revolutionary Socialism; for this reason every attempt to reconcile these teachings with his views is, in the very nature of things, preordained to utter failure. And the more our German comrades who remained loyal to revolutionary Socialism realized the absolute irreconcilability of their own programme with the views of Mr. Bernstein, all the more passionately did they repulse these views, and all the more energetically do they fight the revisionists. It could not be otherwise. It would be strange and sad, indeed, were it otherwise. "Comrade-like polemics" is not to be thought of among those who, by the very nature of things, must be irreconcilable enemies.

The admirers of "comrade-like polemics" eagerly dwell upon the subject of FREEDOM OF OPINION. "The Social Democracy must not limit the right of criticism," say they. This is certainly true, but very erroneously applied in this particular case. Had the Social Democracy contemptuously thrown out from its ranks Mr. Bernstein immediately

upon the appearance of his above-mentioned book—an act which would have greatly benefited the party—it would not in the least have hindered it from remaining THE TRUEST DEFENDER OF FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND OPINION. Freedom of opinion and speech is in no way safeguarded by having people of opposite opinions live peacefully together in the ranks of the same party, but in the fact that the laws of the land guarantee TO ALL PARTIES the right to think what they want and to express all they think. By throwing out Mr. Bernstein from its ranks, or some other revisionist, who gradually crawled into bourgeois theories, the German Social Democracy would not in the least infringe on the inalienable right of that gentleman to criticize all the views he desires. It would only have made use of its own right to take into its ranks only those who agree with its own views. When they say that the Social Democracy ought to guarantee its members full freedom of opinion, they forget that a political party is not an academy of science. "To philosophize is not to act, to act is not to philosophize," Fichte justly somewhere remarks. "So long as I philosophize, I do not act, and as long as I do not act, men of action have no right whatever to call me to account for the results of my philosophy; but as soon as I begin to act, I cease to philosophize, and the men of action, whom I would like to unite with, have not only the full right, but are in duty bound to ask me what really are my conclusions, and whether they conflict with their practical problems."

FREEDOM OF OPINION IN THE PARTY CAN AND MUST BE LIMITED FOR THE VERY REASON THAT A PARTY IS A UNION OF MEN OF THE SAME OPINIONS, WHO VOLUNTARILY GROUP THEMSELVES TOGETHER. SO SOON AS THIS CONCORD OF OPINION DISAPPEARS, SEPARATION BECOMES INEVITABLE TO BURDEN THE PARTY IN THE NAME OF FREEDOM OF OPINION, WITH SUCH MEMBERS WHO DO NOT SHARE ITS VIEWS MEANS TO RESTRAIN ITS FREEDOM OF CHOICE, AND PREVENT THE SUCCESS OF ITS ACTIONS.

It is self-evident that complete concord of opinion is obligatory only in ESSENTIAL party problems, but neither in the theory of the International Social Democracy nor in her PRACTICAL work was there ever, is there, or can there be, a question of more essential significance than this very question which the "orthodox" so warmly contest with the "revisionists." UPON ITS DECISION, ONE WAY OR THE OTHER, ITS WHOLE FUTURE DEPENDS.

What unheard-of absurdities the revisionists arrive at in their desire to confer upon the Social Democracy the virtues of unlimited "freedom of opinion," will be seen

which would appear to us wholly improbable were it not fully authenticated. When the now well-known debate about the "vice-presidency" was blazing in the German Social Democratic press, Comrade (sic!) Paus, unexpectedly expressed the opinion that by trying to obtain the vice-presidency for one of its members, the Social Democratic faction in Reichstag need not be embarrassed by that indispensable condition, by which alone they could obtain this place: the customary visit at court to express the feelings of loyal subjects to the Emperor. To explain this idea, which sounds so utterly strange coming from a Social Democrat, Comrade (!!) Paus brought forth the argument that, while it's true that William II. at all times, roughly attacks the Social Democrats, on the other hand we must recognize that the Emperor is entitled to "freedom of opinion." This is truly exceptional! Humbly bend yourself to the ground, make a respectful obeisance to the man who has taught but coarse and lying epithets for you! Should you refuse to comply, then our comrade (truly a sensible comrade!) Paus will accuse you of infringing on the freedom of another's opinion. O, ye admirers of freedom! You can't go further because—unfortunately or not—the realm of absurdity also has its bounds.

Some also bitterly regret that the old debate on tactics became the order of the day in the German Party so soon after the June elections. It seemed to mar the brilliant impression of the splendid victory of the Social Democracy. But firstly, now as always, the debate was started not by the "orthodox" but by the revisionists, who in the person of the indefatigably tactless Mr. Bernstein, began to advise the Social Democracy to adapt itself—in the words of the satirist—to rascality. Secondly, the victory over the external foe need not in the least prevent the "orthodox" from attempting to subdue the internal enemy who threatens its very existence as the revolutionary party of the class-conscious proletariat. To the unprecedented June victory would require the humiliating price of peace with the revisionists, then it would cost the party too dearly. But after the June victory, peace with the revisionists became less possible than ever before. The "orthodox" were morally bound to warn the triumphant proletariat of those tactics which would have dragged it into the quagmire of opportunism, would have rendered useless its colossal success, and would have made sterile its indomitable energy.

The energetic repulse to the revisionists was to the "orthodox" a political duty, a psychological necessity. This is why comparatively trifling occurrences—the participation of a few revisionists in the bourgeois press which



# WOMAN UNDER SOCIALISM

By AUGUST BEBEL

Translated from the Original German of the Thirty-Third Edition

By DANIEL DE LEON

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PART II.

## WOMAN IN THE PRESENT.—Continued.

An evidence of the inadequacy of the present school system—it is unable to fulfill even the moderate demands made upon it—is the fact that thousands upon thousands of children are unable to fulfill their school duties by reason of insufficient food. In the winter of 1893-94, it was ascertained in Berlin that in one school district alone 3,000 children went to school without breakfast. In such shocking conditions there are hundreds of thousands of children in Germany to-day at certain seasons of the year. With millions of others the nourishment is utterly insufficient. For all these children public alimentation and clothing also would be a godsend. A commonwealth that pursued such a policy and thus, by the systematic nourishing and clothing of the children, would bring humanity home to them, is not likely to see the sight of "penitentiaries." Bourgeois society cannot deny the existence of such misery, which itself has called forth. Hence we see compassionate souls forerunning in the establishment of breakfast and soup houses, to the end of partially filling by means of charity what it were the duty of society to fill in full. Our conditions are wretched—but still more wretched is the mental make-up of those who shut their eyes to such facts.

The system of reducing so-called home school work, and of having the same done at school under the supervision of a teacher is progressing; the inadequacy of home facilities is realized. Not only is the richer pupil at an advantage over the poorer by reason of his position, but also by reason of his having private teachers and such other assistance at his command. On the other hand, however, laziness and shiftness are promoted with the rich pupil by reason of the effects of wealth, luxury and superfluity; these make knowledge appear superfluous to him, and often they place before him such immoral sights that he easily slides into temptation. He who every day and every hour hears the praises sung of rank, position, money, property, and that they are all-essential, acquires abnormal conceptions regarding man and his duties, and regarding State and social institutions.

Closely looked into, bourgeois society has no reason to feel indignant at the communistic education, which Socialists aim at. Bourgeois society has itself partly introduced such a system for the privileged classes, but only as a caricature of the original. Look at the cadet and alumni establishments, at the seminaries, at the schools for clergymen, and at the homes for military orphans. In them many thousands of children, partly from the so-called upper classes, are educated in a one-sided and wrongful manner, and in strict cloister seclusion; they are trained for certain specific occupations. And again, many members of the better situated classes, who live in the country or in small places as physicians, clergymen, government employees, factory owners, landlords, large farmers, etc., send their children to boarding schools in the large cities and barely get a glimpse of them, except possibly during vacations.

There is, accordingly, an obvious contradiction between the indignation expressed by our adversaries at a communistic system of education and at "the estrangement of children from their parents," on the one hand, and their own conduct, on the other, in introducing the identical system for their own children—only in a bungling, absolutely false and inadequate style.

In equal tempo with the increased opportunities for education must the number of teachers increase. In the matter of the education of the rising generations the new social order must proceed in a way similar to that which prevails in the army, in the drilling of soldiers. There is one "under-officer" to each eight or ten men. With one teacher to every eight or ten pupils, the future may expect the results that should be aimed at.

The introduction of mechanical activities in the best equipped workshops, in garden and field work, will constitute a good part of the education of the youth. It will all be done with the proper change and without excessive exertion, to the end of reaching the most perfectly developed beings.

Education must also be equal and in common for both sexes. Their separation is justifiable only in the cases where the difference in sex makes such separation absolutely necessary. In this manner of education the United States is far ahead of us. There education of the two sexes is in common from the primary schools up to the universities. Not only is education free, but also school materials, inclusive of the instruments needed in manual training and in cooking, as also in chemistry, physics, and the articles needed for experimenting and at bench-work. To many schools are attached gymnastic halls, bath houses, swimming basins and playgrounds. In the higher schools, the female sex is trained in gymnastics, swimming, rowing and marching.

The Socialist system of education, properly regulated and ordered and placed under the direction of a sufficient force, continues up to the age when society shall determine that its youth shall enter upon their majority. Both sexes are fully qualified to exercise all the rights and fill all the duties that society demands from its adult members. Society now enjoys the certainty of having brought up only thorough, fully developed members, human beings to whom nothing natural is strange, as familiar with their nature as with the nature and conditions of society which they join full-righted.

The daily increasing excesses of our modern youth—all of them the inevitable consequences of the present tainted and decomposing state of society—will have vanished. Improperly of conduct, disobedience, immorality and rude pleasure-seeking, such as is especially noticeable among the youth of our higher educational institutions—the gymnasia, polytechnics, universities, etc.—vices that are incited and promoted by the existing demoralization and unrest of domestic life, by the poisonous influence of social life such as the immoral literature that wealth procures—all these will likewise have vanished. In equal measure will disappear the evil effects of the modern factory system and of improper housing, that dissoluteness and self-assurance of youths at an age when the human being is most in need of reining and education in self-control. All these evils future society will escape without the need of coercive measures. The nature of the social institutions and of the mental atmosphere, that will spring from them and that will rule society itself, rendering impossible the breaking out of such evils; as in Nature disease and the destruction of organisms can appear only when there is a state of decay that invites disease; so likewise in society.

No one will deny that our present system of instruction and of education suffers of serious defects—the higher schools and educational establishments even more so than the lower. The village school is a paragon of moral health compared with the college; common schools for the manual training of poor girls are paragons of morality compared with many leading boarding schools for girls. The reason is not far to seek. In the upper classes of society, every aspiration after higher human aims is smothered; those classes no longer have any ideal. As a consequence of the absence of ideals and of noble endeavor, an unbounded passion for physical indulgence and hankering after excesses spread their physical and moral gangrene in all directions. How else can the youth be that is brought up in such an atmosphere? Purely material indulgence, without stint and without bounds, is the only aim that it sees or knows of. Why exert themselves, if the wealth of their parents makes all effort seem superfluous? The maximum of education with a large majority of the sons of our bourgeoisie consists in passing

the examinations for the one year's service in the army. Is this goal reached, then they imagine to have climbed Pelion and Ossa, and regard themselves at least as demi-gods. Have they a reserve officer's certificate in their pocket, then their pride and arrogance knows no limit. The influence exercised by this generation—a generation it has become by its numbers—weak in the character and knowledge of its members, but strong in their designs and the spirit of graft, characterizes the present period as the "Age of Reserve Officers." Its peculiarities are: Characterlessness and ignorance, but a strong will; servility upward, arrogance and brutality downward.

The daughters of our bourgeoisie are trained as show-dolls, fools of fashion and drawing-room-ladies, on the chase after one enjoyment after another, until, finally, surfeited with *ennui*, they fall a prey to all imaginable real and supposed diseases. Grown old, they become devotees and beads-women, who turn up their eyes at the corruption of the world and preach asceticism. As regards the lower classes, the effort is on foot to lower still more the level of their education. The proletariat might become too knowing, it might get tired of its vassalage, and might rebel against its earthly gods. The more stupid the mass, all the easier is it to control and rule.

And thus modern society stands before the question of instruction and education as bewildered as it stands before all other social questions. What does it? It calls for the rod; preaches "religion," that is, submission and contentment to those who are now but too submissive; teaches abstinence where, due to poverty, abstinence has become compulsory in the utmost necessities of life. Those who in the rudeness of their nature rear up brutally are taken to "reformatories," that usually are controlled by pietistic influences—and the pedagogic wisdom of modern society has about reached the end of its tether.

From the moment that the rising generation in future society shall have reached its majority, all further growth is left to the individual: society will feel sure that each will seize the opportunity to unfold the germs that have been so far developed in him. Each does according as inclination and faculties serve him. Some choose one branch of the ever more brilliant natural sciences: anthropology, zoology, botany, mineralogy, geology, physics, chemistry, prehistoric sciences, etc.; others take to the science of history, philologic researches, art; others yet become musicians from special gifts, or painters, or sculptors, or actors. The future will have "guild artists" as little as "guild scientists" or "guild artisans." Thousands of brilliant talents, hitherto kept down, unfold and assert themselves and display their knowledge and ability wherever opportunity offers. No longer are there any musicians, actors, artists and scientists by profession; they will exist only by inspiration, talent and genius; and the achievements of these bid fair to excel modern achievements on these fields as vastly as the industrial, technical and agricultural achievements of future society are certain to excel those of to-day. An era of art and sciences will spring up such as the world never saw before; nor will its creations fail to correspond to such a renaissance.

What transformation and new-birth science will experience when conditions shall have become worthy of the human race, no less a man than the late Richard Wagner foresaw and expressed as early as 1850 in his work "Art and Revolution." This work is all the more significant seeing that it made its appearance immediately after a revolution that had just been beaten down, that Wagner took part in, and by reason of which he had to flee from Dresden. In this book Wagner foretells what the future will bring on. He turns directly to the working class as the one called upon to emancipate true art. Among other things he says:

"When, with the free human race of the future, the earning of a living shall no longer be the object of life; when, on the contrary, thanks to the rise of a new faith, or of higher knowledge, the gaining of a livelihood by means of compatible work shall be raised above all uncertainty;—in short, when industry shall no longer be our master but our servant, then will we place the object of life in the pleasure of life, and seek to make our children fit and worthy through education. An education that starts from the exercise of strength, from the care of the beauty of the body will, due to the undisturbed love for the child and to the joy experienced at the thriving of its charms, become purely artistic; and thus in some sense or another every being will be an artist in truth. The diversity of natural inclinations will develop the most manifold aptitudes into an unprecedented wealth of beauty!"—at all points a Socialist line of thought, and fully in keeping with the arguments herein made.

Social life in future will be ever more public. What the trend is may be gathered from the wholly changed position of woman, compared with former times. Domestic life will be confined to what is absolutely necessary, while the widest field will be opened to the gratification of the social instincts. Large gathering places for the holding of addresses and discussions, and for conferring upon all social questions, over which the collectivity has the sovereign word; play, meals and reading rooms; libraries, concert halls and theaters; museums and gymnastic institutions; parks, promenades, public baths, educational institutions of all sorts; laboratories, etc.—all of these, erected in the best and equipped in the fittest manner possible, will afford richest opportunity for all manner of intercourse, of art and of science to achieve the highest. Likewise will the institutions for the nursing of the sick, the weak, the infirm through old age, meet the highest demands.

How little will then our much boasted about age seem in comparison. This fawning for favor and sunshine from above; this cringing and dog-like frame of mind; this mutual struggle of enviousness, with the aid of the most hateful and vilest means, for the privileged place. All along the suppression of convictions; the veiling of good qualities, that might otherwise give offence; the emasculation of character; the affectation of opinions and feelings;—in short, all those qualities that may be summed up in words "cowardice and characterlessness" are now every day more pronounced. Whatever elevates and ennobles man—self-esteem, independence and incorruptibility of opinion and convictions, freedom of utterance—modern conditions generally turn into defects and crimes. Often do these qualities work the ruin of their owners, unless he suppresses them. Many do not even realize their degradation; they have grown accustomed thereto. The dog regards it a matter of course that he has a master, who, when out of temper, visits him with the whip.

Such altered conditions in social life will impart a radically different aspect to literary productions. Theological literature, whose entries are at present most numerous in the yearly catalogues of literary works, drops out in company with its juridic cousin;—there is no more interest in the former, and no more use for the latter. All the literary productions that refer to the struggle over political institutions will be seen no more,—their subject-matter has ceased to be. The study of all such matters will belong to the history of civilization. The vast mass of inane productions—the evidences of a spoiled taste, often possible only through sacrifices at the altar of the author's vanity—are gone. Even speaking from the view-point of present conditions, it may be said without exaggeration that four-fifths of all literary productions could disappear from the market without loss to a single interest of civilization. Such is the vastness of the mass of superficial or harmful books, palpable trash, extant to-day on the field of literature.

Belles-lettres and the press will be equally hit. There is nothing sordid, more spiritless or superficial than the large majority of our newspaper literature. If our stage in civilization and scientific attainments were to be gauged by the contents of that set of papers, it would be low indeed. The actions of men and the condition of things are judged from a view-point that corresponds with centuries gone by, and that has been long since proved laughable and untenable by science. A considerable portion of our journalists are people who, as Bismarck once put it, "missed their calling," but whose education and standard of wages fit with bourgeois interests. Furthermore, these newspapers, as well as the majority of the belles-lettres magazines, have the mission of circulating impure advertisements; the interests of their purses are on this field the same as on the former: the material interests of their owners determine their contents.

On an average, belles-lettres literature is not much superior to newspaper literature. Its forte is to cultivate sex excesses: it renders homage either to shallow enlightenment or to stale prejudices and superstitions. Its general purpose is to represent the capitalist order of society, all its shortcomings notwithstanding, which are conceded in trifles, as the best of all possible worlds.

On this extensive and important field, future society will institute some thorough-going housecleaning. Science, truth, beauty, the contest of the intellect after the best will rule supreme. Everyone who achieves what is worthy will enjoy the opportunity to exercise his faculties. He

no longer depends upon the favor of a publisher, moneyed considerations or prejudice, but only upon the impartial judgment of experts whom he himself joins in electing, and from whose unfavorable decision he can always appeal to the general vote of the whole community,—all of which is to-day against him or impossible. The childish notion that all contest of intellect would be held down in a Socialist society they alone can maintain who hold the bourgeois world to be the most perfect social system, and who, out of enmity to Socialism seek to slander and to belittle it. A society, that rests upon full democratic equality, neither knows nor tolerates oppression. Only the fullest freedom of thought makes uninterrupted progress possible, and this is the principle of life with society. Moreover, it is an act of deception to represent bourgeois society as the paladin of true freedom of thought. Parties that represent class interests will publish in the press only that which does not injure their class' own interests, and vote to him who would attempt the contrary. His social ruin would be sealed, as every one knows. In what manner publishers handle literary work that does not suit them, every writer almost could tell a tale of woe on. Finally, the German press and criminal laws betray the spirit that animates our ruling and leading classes. Actual freedom of thought is looked upon by them as the most dangerous of evils.

The individual is to develop himself fully. That must be the law of human association. Accordingly, the individual may not remain fettered to the soil on which the accident of birth first placed him. Men and the world should be known, not from books and papers only: personal observation, practical experience are also needed. Accordingly, future society must enable everyone to do what is now done by many, although in most instances it happens to-day under the whip that want cracks. The wish for change in all the relations of life is a craving strongly stamped in man. It springs from the instinct after perfection, inherent in all organic beings. The plant that stands in a dark room, stretches and strains, as though endowed with consciousness, towards the light that falls from some crevice. Just so with man. An instinct implanted in man, consequently a natural instinct, must be rationally gratified. The conditions of future society will not balk the instinct after change; on the contrary, they promote its gratification with all: it is facilitated by the highly developed system of intercommunication; it is demanded by international relations. In future days, infinitely more people will travel through the world, and for the most varied of purposes, than happens to-day.

In order to meet all demands, society furthermore requires an ample provision of all the necessities of life. Society regulates its hours of work accordingly. It makes them longer or shorter, according as its needs or the season of the year may suggest. It may turn its strength at one season mainly to agriculture, at another mainly to industrial and similar production. It directs its labor forces as occasion may require. Through the combination of numerous forces, equipped with the best technical provisions, it can carry through with swiftness, aye, playfully, undertakings that to-day seem impossible.

As society assumes the care of its youth, so it does of its aged, sick or invalid members. It guards whoever, by whatever circumstance, has become unable to work. There is in this no question of charity, but of duty; not of an alms morsel, but of an assistance born of every possible consideration due him, who, during the time of his strength and ability to work, fulfilled his duties to the commonwealth. The setting sun of old age is beautiful with all that society can offer: everyone being buoyed up with the confidence that he will some day himself enjoy what now he affords to others. No longer are the aged now disturbed with the thought that others are awaiting their death in order to "inherit;" likewise has the fear vanished from the mind of man that, grown old and helpless, he will be cast off like a squeezed lemon. Man now feels himself left neither to the benevolence of his children, nor to the alms of the community. What the condition is in which most parents find themselves, who depend in old age upon the support of their children, is notorious. How demoralizing is not the effect of the hope of inheriting upon the children, and, in a still greater degree, upon relatives! What vile qualities are not awakened; and how many are not the crimes that such hopes have led to!—murder, forgery, perjury, extortion, etc. Capitalist society has no reason to be proud of its laws of inheritance; to them are ascribable part of the crimes that are committed every year; and yet the large majority of people have nothing to bequeath or to inherit.

The moral and physical condition of future society; the nature of its works, homes, food, clothing, its social life—everything will greatly contribute to avoid accidents, sickness, debility. Natural death by the decline of the vigor of life will become the rule. The conviction that "heaven" is on earth, and that to be dead means to be ended, will cause people to lead rational lives. He enjoys most who enjoys longest. None know how to appreciate a long life better than the very clergy who prepare people for the "after world;" a life free from care makes it possible for these gentlemen to reach the highest age average.

Life requires, first of all, food and drink. Friends of the so-called "natural way of living" often ask why is Socialism indifferent to vegetarianism. The question causes us to take up the subject in a few lines. Vegetarianism, that is, the doctrine that prescribes an exclusive vegetal diet, found its first supporters in such circles as are in the agreeable position of being able to choose between a vegetal and an animal diet. To the large majority of people there is no such choice: they are forced to live according to their means, the meagerness of which in many instances keeps them almost exclusively to a vegetal diet, and to the least nutritive, at that. With our working class population in Silesia, Saxony, Thuringen, etc., the potato is the principal nourishment; even bread comes in only secondarily; meat, and then only of poor quality, is hardly ever seen on the table. Even the largest part of the rural population, although they are the raisers of cattle, rarely partake of meat: they must sell the cattle in order to satisfy other pressing wants with the money obtained therefor.

For the innumerable people, who are compelled to live as vegetarians, an occasional solid beefsteak, or good leg of mutton, would be a decided improvement in the diet. When vegetarianism directs itself against the overrating of the nutrition contained in meat, it is right; it is wrong, however, when it combats the partaking of meat as harmful and fatal, mainly on sentimental grounds—such as "the nature of man forbids the killing of animals and to partake of a corpse." In order to live comfortably and undisturbed, we are compelled to declare war upon and destroy a large number of living beings in the shape of all manner of vermin; in order not to be ourselves eaten up, we must undertake the killing and extirpating of wild animals. The quiet toleration of those "good friends of man," the domestic animals, would increase the number of these "good friends" in a few decades so immensely that they would "devour" us by robbing us of food. Neither is the claim true that a vegetarian diet produces mildness of temperament. The "beast" was awakened even in the mild, vegetarian Hindoo when the severity of the Englishmen drove him to mutiny.

In our opinion Sonderegger hits the nail on the head when he says: "There is no order of rank in the matter of the different kinds of food; but there is an unalterable law in the matter of combining their several nutritious qualities." It is true that no one can nourish himself on an

"The person who has led an honorable and active life until old age should not then have to live either on the charity of his children or of bourgeois society. An independent old age, free from cares or toil, is the natural reward for continuous exertions in the days of strength and health."—v. Thunen's "Der isolierte Staat." But how is it to-day in this bourgeois society? Millions lack with bread towards the time when, having grown old, they are thrown upon the street. And our industrial system causes people to age prematurely. The very much boasted about old-age and invalid pensions in the German Empire afford but a very scanty substitute even to its most zealous defenders admit that. Their aids are still more inadequate than the pensions which the municipalities allow to the large majority of the officials whom they provide with pensions.

"It is a feature of theology to be positive, precise and emphatic in descriptions of what the describer knows nothing about. No less theologians, in this sense of the term, are negative assertions concerning matters that science has not yet illumined. Whether 'to be dead means to be ended' or not, is in part either of the general question of Socialism, or the specific question of Woman. Nevertheless, while respecting the author's private opinion in the matter, and leaving his sentence untouched, the following phrasing would seem preferable, as free from the taint of what may be called the 'theologic method,' and also more in keeping with the mental posture of positive knowledge: 'Whether to be dead means to be ended or not, is a matter on which man awaits the fiat of Science.'—THE TRANSLATOR."

"It is otherwise in the United States, where, as a rule, clergymen have to 'hustle'—both to curry favor with their parishioners and to countermeasures the mines laid by their competitors for fatter 'calls,' or by their numerous 'brothers of the cloth.' According to the census of 1890, clergymen had the very highest death rate (23.5) among the professional occupations for the registration area.—and it was among the highest altogether. It was exceeded only by the death rate of the cooper (25.3); of the millers, flour and grain, (26.0); of the salivators, physicians and osteopaths (27.7); and of the stock raisers, herdsmen and drovers (32.1). The census also shows that the death rate of clergymen is on the increase—18.2 in 1890; now 23.5.—THE TRANSLATOR.]

exclusively meat diet, but that he can on an exclusively vegetal diet, provided always he can select to suit; but neither would any one be satisfied with one vegetable, let it be the most nutritive. Beans, for instance, peas, lentils, in short, the leguminosae, are the most nutritive of all food. Nevertheless, to be forced to feed exclusively on them—which is said to be possible—were a torture. Karl Marx mentions in "Capital" that the Chilian mine-owners compel their workmen to eat beans year in and year out, because the food imparts to the a great strength and enables them to carry burdens that they could not carry with any other diet. Despite its nutrition, the workmen turn against such food, but get none other, and are thus obliged to rest content therewith. Under no circumstances do the happiness and well-being of people depend upon a certain diet, as is claimed by the fanatics among the vegetarians. Climate, custom, individual tastes are the determining factors.

In the measure that civilization advances, a vegetal diet progressively takes the place of the exclusive meat diet, such as is indulged in by hunting and pastoral peoples. A many-sided agriculture is a sign of higher culture. On a given field, vegetal nutritive matters can be raised in larger quantities than could meat be obtained through cattle raising. This development imparts to vegetal nutrition an ever greater preponderance. The transportation of meat, that the modern vandalic economic system furnishes us with from foreign lands, especially from South America and Australia, has been very nearly exhausted within few decades. On the other hand, animals are raised, not merely for the sake of meat, but also for that of wool, hair, bristles, skin and hides, milk, eggs, etc., upon which many industries and human wants are dependent. Again of all several kinds can be turned in no way to better advantage than through cattle raising. The seas will also in future be made to yield to man their wealth of animal food to a much larger extent than now. It will be in future a rare occurrence to see, as we do to-day, whole loads of fish turned to manure, because the facilities and costs of transportation, or the facilities of preservation prevent their being otherwise used. It follows that a purely vegetal diet is neither probable nor necessary in the future.

In the matter of food, *quality* rather than *quantity* is to be considered. Quantity is of little use if not good. Quality is greatly improved by the manner of preparation. The preparation of food must be conducted as scientifically as any other function, if it is to reach the highest point of utility possible. Knowledge and equipment are thereto requisite. That our women, upon whom to-day mainly devolves the preparation of food, do not and can not possess this knowledge, needs no proof. They lack all the necessary equipments thereof. As every well equipped hotel kitchen, the steam kitchen of barracks or of hospitals and especially the cooking expositions teach us, the cooking apparatuses, together with many technical arrangements for all manner of food preparation, have reached a high degree of perfection and have been contrived upon scientific principles. That will in the future be the rule. The object aimed at must be to obtain the best results with the smallest expenditure of power, time and material. The small private kitchen is, just like the workshop of the small master mechanic, a transition stage, an arrangement by which time, power and material are senselessly squandered and wasted. The preparation of food also will in future society be a social establishment, conducted on the most improved plane, in proper and advantageous manner. The private kitchen disappears, as it has now disappeared in the instance of those families who, although they generally provide themselves through their own kitchen, always resort to hotel kitchens, or to those of enterers the moment the question is to provide for banquets or to procure dishes a knowledge of which both they and their domestics lack."

The Chicago Exposition of 1893 brought out a mass of interesting facts on the revolution that has taken place in the kitchen also, and in the preparation of food;—among other things a kitchen in which the heating and cooking was done wholly through electricity. Electricity not only furnished the light, but was also active in the washing of dishes, which thereupon required the aid of the human hand only in finishing up. In this kitchen of the future there was no hot air, no smoke, no vapors. Numberless apparatuses and subsidiary machinery performed a number of operations that until then had to be performed by human hands. This kitchen of the future resembled more a parlor than a kitchen that everyone who has nothing to do in, likes to stay away from. Work therein at the Chicago Exposition was pleasurable and free from all the unpleasantness that are features of the modern kitchen. Can a private kitchen be imagined even approximately equipped like that? And then, what a saving in all directions through such a central kitchen! Our women would seize the opportunity with both hands to exchange the present for the kitchen of the future.

The nutritive value of food is heightened by its facility of assimilation. This is a determining factor. A natural system of nourishment for all can be reached only by future society. Cato praises the Rome of before his days for having had experts in the art of healing, but, down to the sixth century of the city, no occupation for exclusive physicians. People lived so frugally and simply, that disease was rare, and death from old age was the usual form of disease. Not until gourmandizing and idleness—in short, license with some want and excessive work with others—had permeated society, did matters change, and radically so. In future, gluttony and license will be impossible, and likewise want, misery and privation. There is enough, and an abundance, for all. More than fifty years ago Heinrich Heine sang:

Why, there grows down here abundance  
And a plentitude for all;  
Roses, myrtles, beauty and joy;  
Yes, and sugar beans withal—

Aye, sugar beans in bursting pods  
For everyone are here,  
But they're left to heaven's angels  
And the sparrows of the air.

"He who eats little lives well"—that is, long, said the Italian Cornaro in the sixteenth century, as quoted by Niemeyer. In the end chemistry will be active in the preparation and improvement of nourishment to a degree hitherto unknown. To-day the science is greatly abused in the interest of adulterations and fraud. It is obvious that a chemically prepared food that has all the qualities of the natural product will accomplish the same purpose. The form of the preparation is of secondary importance, provided the product otherwise meets all requirements.

As in the kitchen, the revolution will be accomplished throughout domestic life: it will remove numberless details of work that must be attended to to-day. As in the future the domestic kitchen is rendered wholly superfluous by the central institutions for the preparation of food, so likewise are all the former troubles of keeping ranges, lamps, etc., in working order, removed by the central heating and electric apparatuses for lighting. Warm and cold water supplies place bathing within the reach of all at pleasure, and without the aid of any person. The central laundries assume the washing, drying, etc., of clothes; the central cleaning establishments see to the dusting, etc., of clothing and carpets. In Chicago, carpet-cleaning machines were exhibited that did the work in so short a time as to call forth the admiration of the ladies who visited the Exposition. The electric door opens at a slight pressure of the finger, and shuts of itself. Electric contrivances deliver letters and newspapers on all the floors of the houses; electric elevators save the climbing of stairs. The inside arrangement of the houses—floorings, garnishing of the walls, furniture—will be contrived with an eye to the facility of cleaning and to the prevention of the gathering of dust and bacteria. Dust, sweepings and offal of all sorts will be carried by pipes out of the houses like water, that has been used, is carried off to-day. In the United States, in many a European city—Zurich, for instance—there are to-day tenements, exquisitely equipped, in which numerous affluent families—others could not bear the expense—live and enjoy a large part of the conveniences just sketched.

"Herr Eugen Richter in his 'Irrlehren' is also raving mad over the idea of abolishing the private kitchen. As far as we know, Herr Richter is a bachelor. Obviously he does not miss his own kitchen; to judge from the rotundity of his body he does not fare ill. If Herr Richter were a married man and possessed a wife, who had herself to administer the kitchen department and to perform in it the needed work, instead of leaving all that to servants, as is the fashion with the women of the property classes, then, a hundred to one, his wife would nicely prove to him how happy she would be if she only could be freed from the bondage of the kitchen through 'the large and thoroughly equipped communal institute for meals.'

"Niemeyer, 'Gesundheitslehre.'

To be continued



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## SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1890.....	2,008
In 1892.....	21,157
In 1894.....	35,564
In 1896.....	34,191
In 1902.....	53,617

## THE FLAMING SWORD OF TACTICS.

Attention is here called to the translation from the Russian revolutionary Socialist paper, "Iskra," of the article entitled "The Red Convention in the Red State," published elsewhere in this issue.

Leaving aside "Iskra's" estimate of the political significance of the Dresden convention of the German Social Democratic party—an estimate which we consider mistaken, as will be shown in an article in preparation on the subject,—its review of the facts touching the general questions of "freedom of opinion," "freedom of speech," "tactical organization," etc., etc., and the trenchant criticisms it makes of theories and acts, including and clinching the point with the Paris resolution framed by Kautsky, whom the paper wittily satirizes with the play upon his name of the "Kantebou (India-rubber) Resolution," are exceptionally brilliant. Upon these points, and of that is the bulk of the article, the review and criticism are of no little interest and importance to us in America. They will be found to hew close to the lines along which the Socialist Labor Party has closely hewn for the last ten years, and for which the Party is proud of having earned the undying hostility of the freaks and the frauds of the land. In "Iskra's" article will be seen mirrored the elements which here in America also rebel against the "bossism" of logic, the "intolerance" of rectitude, the "narrowness" of principle, the "bigotry" of aggressive enthusiasm. And the article raises the veil dramatically over the "olla podrida" of "get there quick" intellectualism.

Rather than reproduce from the archives of the S. L. P. polemics the rationale of the Party's conduct, "Iskra's" article is here published as a graphic synopsis of things that must be avoided and of things that must be adhered to—as revealed by an interesting section of the seething cauldron of the Social Question.

## SETTING PRECEDENTS.

Can anyone picture to himself how that paragon of "Americanism," of "Patriotism," of "Law and Order," of "Morality" and of "Bravery," who at present fills the Presidential chair of the nation, would deport himself if the workmen were to declare: "We can no longer submit to trifling. We must forthwith take the matter into our own hands!"

Imagine the workmen gazing at the ever mounting column of the wealth they produce, and the ever sinking share that falls to them. Imagine them passing in review the several nostrums with the aid of which their dinner pails were to be filled, and recalling with grief that whether the tariff was low or was high, whether the Sherman Silver Act was in force or a virtual gold standard was raised, whether the nation "expanded" and "imperialized" or did the other thing, the conditions of life for Labor steadily declined. Imagine them keeping tally on the increased mortality in their own ranks;—imagine that, and then imagine them declaring: "We can no longer submit to trifling. We must forthwith take the matter into our own hands!" Would not the above-named paragon of virtues stare up? The suggestion suggests an interesting picture.

And yet that identical language is the language held by President Roosevelt in justification of what? In justification of the highway robbery he has perpetrated on the international domain by plundering the Republic of Colombia of one of its States in the interest of the Panama Canal lobby!

The wealth of the land is the product of Labor. An idle class now holds it. It holds the wealth produced by Labor, thanks to a plundering system, that is legalized by what it pleases to call "Law," but which, however, is as Carlyle termed

the thing, nothing but "buccaneers' log-book." What "morality," what "patriotism," what "Americanism" and decency is back of the "morality," "patriotism," "Americanism" and decency that the Roosevelt class invokes against the workman? Can he be judged by the conduct of these gentlemen in Panama, and by the reasons that they justify their conduct with—"We can no longer submit to trifling. We must forthwith take the matter into our own hands!"—What matter, the property of another nation!

If the Roosevelt class may "take into their own hands" the territory of another nation that they do not even claim to have produced; if the Roosevelt class may, not even in pursuit of "self-preservation," but simply to "round up their estate" indulge in spoliation, abroad;—if that is right, how infinitely righter is not the awakening conscience of the Working Class, which is prompting them to declare they are "getting tired of being trifled with by the capitalist class," and which is moving them "to take the matter of their emancipation into their own hands!"

## MUCH SENSE AND AS MUCH NON-SENSE FROM COL. W. A. TAYLOR.

William A. Taylor, Colonel William A. Taylor, is a gentleman who occupies front rank as a distinguished member of the Ohio Democracy. Just now the Colonel is in a dazed state of mind. The unprecedented minority into which the last election threw the party officially styled "Democratic" in Ohio is, indeed, enough to cause any Democrat "to pause." The Colonel pauses—and he reflects. His reflections are set forth in a signed article in the Columbus, O., "Citizen" of the 11th instant.

Col. Taylor describes the recent programme and campaign conducted in Ohio by the Democratic party as having been Johnsonian—single-tax or socialist balderdash; he speaks of the Single Tax and Socialism as one and the same thing; he denounces both as destructive of individualism; and he ascribes to that the crushing defeat sustained by his party.

Undoubtedly there is much sense in all this, but as much nonsense too. Hard as it may be to disentangle such a tangle of sense and nonsense, it will repay the effort.

That the Single Tax would be utterly destructive of individuality and hence a national calamity none, informed on political economy, will deny. What is the programme of the Single Tax? It is for the State to appropriate all the land-values, that is, the rent. The inevitable result of that would be that the capitalist class—which to-day is forced to divide with the land-lord element among them the plunder that the former now levies upon the working class—would then keep the whole to itself. The reason is obvious. To-day the power of the capitalist lies in his ownership of the machinery (capital) without which land (natural opportunities) are inaccessible to the capital-less man. To-day, the power that lies in the capitalist (holder of social opportunities) compels the landlord (holder of natural opportunities) to deal with the former, and on the other hand, the power that lies, and ever lay, with the landlord (holder of natural opportunities) in turn compels the capitalist (holder of social opportunities), this social upstart and recent intruder in the body social, to treat, and share his plunder with, the old-time sole possessor "of the earth and the fullness thereof." Eliminate the landlord, as the Single Tax would by stripping him of his rent, and "free the land," as the Single Tax proposes, to the highest bidder, and the "man on the street" can see that the land would be "freed" only to the capitalist class, because that class alone holds the social opportunities (capital) that render the natural opportunities (land) at all accessible to labor. The capitalist class would, accordingly, have alone the chance to bid; and, seeing that "Government is ever held by the class that rules," the capitalist would be bidding to itself—the only ruling class left, with the masses left out in the chilly cold. To-day, the capitalist bids to the landlord; having, under the Single Tax but himself to bid to, he will be the undisputed "cock of the walk." Every economist who is a historian, and every historian who is an economist knows that the Single Tax idea originated in the capitalist revolution of France, the capitalists seeking to rid themselves from the landlord and bringing him under, where they already held the working class. To-day, a grasping twin-exploiter, the capitalist would, under the Single Tax, be an overpowering tyrant, crushing the population like a juggernaut car. No room for individuality there. And so far Col. W. A. Taylor reveals profound scholarship.

Socialism, on the other hand, proceeds from the unshakable principles that:

1. The land on and the capital with which to work are essential to man;
2. He who has not these essentials is the slave of him who has;
3. The ownership of these essentials establishes a ruling class, owning the government, with which it crushes the people.

4. Such a state of things tends to destroy individuality. And the proof of it is seen in increasing poverty, increasing dependence, to the point of people swarming, as they did the other day in this land, ready to sell an ear in response to the advertisement of a physician who wanted an ear for a rich patient, while at the same hour a millionaire was being wedded to a European prince.

5. Such a state of things is upheld by the Republican and the orthodox Democratic parties.

From all the above facts it follows:

1. That Socialism and the Single Tax are antipodal, exactly the reverse.

A scheme to abolish eleven out of twelve pirates and place in the hands of only one of the gentry a concentrated power to plunder the people is not Socialism. That is the Single Tax scheme in seeking to abolish the landlord pirate and "adding grease to the elbow" of his younger and now overtopping pal, the capitalist.

A scheme, or be it dream, from which popular freedom, the abolition of the effect of class rule, is expected, despite the fact that the social opportunities (capital) are left the monopoly of a class, a small one, at that is not Socialism. That is Single Tax—consequently balderdash.

2. Individualism is being crushed now by capitalism. Its salvation depends upon the triumph of Socialism.

So far, accordingly, Col. W. A. Taylor talked nonsense.

Finally, it is pearls of wisdom that the Colonel emits when he ascribes the recent and overwhelming defeat of the Ohio Democracy to Johnsonianism. Johnsonianism, as may be judged from the above, is revolutionary freakishness. Whether freakish or not, the Democratic party has no business to dabble with revolution. The Democratic is the twin sister of the Republican party. They are the political arms of capitalism—of the rule of the capitalist class, and the plunder of the working class, the upholders of the system of wage-slavery. For either party to hold revolutionary language, is simply to drive the capitalists in a jump into the other—as happened before with Bryan. When either talks freakishness, it thereby deprives itself also of the labor vote. The Democratic party has no chance unless where it returns to its old stand, the good old Grover Cleveland stand, of dealing the free trade rifle diet to workmen on strike for human conditions.

Then the chances of the Democratic party will again be even with those of the Republican party, and their chances will continue even—down to the day when the two will evenly suffer their final defeat, jointly rolled in the dust, like another double-headed monster-dragon by the avenging Archangel St. Michael, the embattled Working Class of America, giving battle under the oriflamme of the Socialist Labor Party.

There is much to be learned from the sense that Col. William A. Taylor emits—enough to pardon his nonsense.

## TURN ON THE LIGHT!

This month's issue of our esteemed contemporary, the Edinburgh "Socialist," organ of the Socialist Labor Party of Great Britain, shoots the following shaft of satire at H. M. Hyndman and the set he stands for:

"The King has written a letter expressing sympathy with Mr. Keir Hardie and asking how he progresses."—Edinburgh Evening News, Tuesday, Oct. 27, 1903.

"In connection with the above our Astrological Editor has handed in the following journalistic forecasts:—

"We are informed on the best possible authority that His Majesty sent a letter regretting his inability to be present at last week's Central Dinner of the London S. D. F., owing to the fact of a previous engagement in the pigeon shooting line at Monte Carlo—not to mention a few bacarat parties to which he has absolutely pledged himself. He sent his best wishes for the success of the Federation, and hoped he would soon have another opportunity of shaking the hand of his friend Mr. Quelch. He explained that he had somewhat misunderstood the aims of the Party until he had perused their recent Coronation Manifesto, which had put to rest all his misgivings as to their loyalty and devotion. The communication was received with enthusiasm, and when Mr. Hyndman rose to propose the health of His Majesty there was not a dry eye in the company."

Is the shot wrongful, is it cruel, is it of the nature of "Socialists quarreling with Socialists," is it a "gratuitous insult," is it "mud-slinging"? Let's see. The Paris "Le Socialiste," organ of the bona fide, that is, the anti-Millerandist or Jauresist Socialists of France, of the 8th of this very month utters the following cry:

"HYNDMAN AND . . ."

"A set of folks who once figured under the name of 'Group of Collective Students,' but that has long since gone out of existence, have granted themselves the pleasure to have Hyndman speak on 'The Imperialism of Mr. Chamberlain' in the hall of the Scientific Societies, and under the presidency of Jaures."

"To fetch the paladin of more than twenty years of the political class struggle in England and present him under the auspices of one of the chiefs of the ministerial bourgeoisie of France;

"To give the floor to the man who it is not so long ago challenged Millerand to defend his policy of participation in a debate with him, and to have the floor thus given him by one of the most ardent champions of Millerandism, by him who, only last week, supported Millerand in his Ministerial report, by the identical Jaures whom Hyndman himself recently styled 'a watered Millerand'!"

"To collect on the same platform the Socialist who not only is at present engaged in combating the anti-labor policies of Chamberlain but also struck with hand and feet and scourged the capitalist authors of the Transvaal war, with the publicist who, in that same war, openly took sides with the English companies of Chamberlain against the Boers 'in the name of civilization';

"That's curious."

"Was Citizen Hyndman aware of the net spread before him? Did he step in with full knowledge? Or did he accept merely in a spirit of international courtesy? That's the question."

"All that we can say is that he is not disgusted."

The facts fearfully recorded by "Le Socialiste" are the vindication of the Edinburgh "Socialist." Utopianism means blindness to facts, hence visionariness as to consequences. It is Utopianism to ignore the agency of man in the introduction and conquest of new ideas, especially of revolutionary ideas. Hence, it is a not least important duty of Socialist agitation to acquaint the masses with, by pitchforking, the stage-strut, whose Socialism consists of an overpowering itch to hear himself talk—on the right side, if possible, on any side, if wanted.

Principle is greater than any man, but without man principle collapses. Corruption lurks behind the stage-strut. It is the duty of Socialist agitation to expose him. This duty is as important as that of abstract instruction. It is upon man and not phantoms that a great Movement rests. To turn the light upon the spooks is a Socialist duty.

Turn on the world-encircling light,—and ever stronger!

## MODERN METAMORPHOSES.

The shipbuilding interests, interested in the Panama Canal, and entrenched behind the Republican party, have dug up from the arsenal of the Democratic party, behind which the anti-shipbuilding interests are entrenched, the Democratic party's platform declaration of 1856 in which the Isthmus is pronounced legitimate prey for the United States, and the country is urged to pounce upon, seize and keep Panama. Thereupon the anti-shipbuilding interests, now holly opposing the Panama scandal, have returned the compliment, and digging up from the arsenal of what was then virtually the present Republican party, have flung at it its then counter declaration in which the "highwayman's plea that 'might makes right' is branded as 'in every respect unworthy of American diplomacy' and as fit to 'bring shame and dishonor upon any government or people that gave it their sanction.'" Here we have something more than a "Black Crook" transformation. It is a double-compound turn about, each side now occupying the exact position it once denounced and sanctimoniously or patriotically denouncing the position it once occupied. Has either abandoned its own center of gravity? Not in the least.

In one of the circles of Hell that Dante conceived and described, the penalty of the miserable sinners, turned to venomous serpents, is to wrestle with one another, until each gradually loses his own and assumes the likeness of the other; they then fall apart, resume their wrestling in their transformed shape, are re-transformed, re-fall away, and re-commence into all eternity. That was the chastisement conceived by the poet and anatomist of crime for the crime of double-faced robbery. Not their external manifestations but the spirit of swindle and rapine—that was their center of gravity, and that the punishment brought out. It is so now with the pro and the anti-Panama move of double-faced rapine. Thus fathoming the phenomenon of this the latest transformation, all the kindred phenomena are understood, and their common point of contact is detected.

Free traders have been seen to turn into ferocious protectionists; these in turn have been seen to turn into rabid free traders. Silver standard men have been known to change and crawl before the golden calf; and gold standard men have been witnessed turning about and clinging to free silver as to a national Messiah, and so forth and so on—just as now one-time anti-rapine men are playing the brigands on Panama and one-time pro-rapine men are now posturing as Morality on a Monument—exactly as the double-faced robbers in Dante's circle of Hell changed appearances. What does it mean?

It means that in all these instances the two "opposites" are in fact "doubles,"—two sides of the identical medal. The center of gravity with both is never changed. That center of gravity is their material interests. It is not the aspect of the robber, but the act of robbery, that held Dante's double-faced felons in perpetual struggle with one another. So here. It is not the external manifestation of the warring capitalists, but their capitalist quality that, holding, forces them to the wrappings and eternal changes of base which they restlessly exhibit. And that capitalist interest is bottomed upon the skinning of the working class.

From an immoral source nothing but immorality can flow. The capitalist system is grounded on the immorality of the plunder of the workers. So grounded, it cannot choose but wobble and change face, color and aspect. The capitalists have changed face on Panama. Their political parties reflect the fact. Leave them alone, give them time and this generation will not pass before they will have again re-changed their face and form—just like the double-faced robbers placed by Dante in Malebolge's perpetual torture.

But why leave them to their torture? Why not end it by blotting out the robber swindle of capitalism, and rearing the Socialist Republic?

## TWO INSTANCES—A THIRD A-COMING.

"As to the Irish, on them we need not count. They are corrupt up to the marrow."

—New Yorker Volkszeitung, Nov. 13, 1903.

"New York . . . now takes the leadership among the States of the Union."

—New Yorker Volkszeitung, Nov. 17, 1903.

The above citations from the organ of the Social Democratic party point to the approaching close of a cycle of three sets of events and their supplementals, the lessons of which are not the least valuable contributions of the so-called Socialist, alias Social Democratic, party movement to the Movement in general. These lessons furnish warnings in the nature of "horrible examples" of what a clean Socialist Movement must guard against, and, by contrast, observe.

The first is furnished by James F. Carey of Haverhill, Mass., and is supplemented by Chas. A. Born of Sheboygan, Wis. Carey was elected in 1897 on the Socialist Labor Party ticket a Councilman in his city, having, at his nomination, signed a resignation blank, as the S. L. P. constitution prescribes. Two months later he successfully intrigued to pull his Section out of the S. L. P. The obvious fitness of the act caused the National Executive Committee to immediately demand his resignation from the office to which the S. L. P. had raised him. He declined. His leading reason was that the S. L. P. had not members enough in Haverhill to elect, and he "had been elected by the people."

Carey's subsequent conduct in voting a \$15,000 Army appropriation was but a vindication of the wisdom of the S. L. P. constitution in placing upon its nominees the moral obligation of a signed resignation blank, and also of the sagacity of the N. E. C. in foreseeing the contemplated treason to the working class of the Army appropriation in Carey's withdrawal from the Party quickly upon his election. For the rest, the Army episode need not figure any further in this argument. The act, here considered, is Carey's violation of faith, his repudiation of his resignation pledge. It was an act of moral turpitude. The man guilty of such an act is an ulcer. Was he treated accordingly by the so-called Socialist, alias Social Democratic, party organization, to whom he turned? No. James F. Carey, with the smirch of this record of betrayal of trust still fresh and redolent upon him, was received as a "star," and honored with chairmanships and editorial praise. This was an outrage on decency and on common sense. The supplemental event to this performance is furnished by Chas. A. Born. Elected this spring Mayor of Sheboygan on the ticket of the Social Democratic party, he promptly went back upon his own party. His language, backed by his appointments, was a slap in the face to the organization that he owed his elevation to, and his justification to their indignant protests is exactly Carey's—"I was not elected by any one party, but by the people." Thus outraged decency and common sense were not long in being avenged. The condemnation of the Carey betrayal of the pledged word swiftly suffered the penalty,—the first in that series.

The second set of supplemental events is furnished by Martha Moore Avery, with herself furnishing the supplement. Mrs. Avery had sided with the S. L. P. at the time of the Kangaroo riots, vehemently opposing the Kangaroos. Pres-

ently, however, the lady began reaching the end of her tether. Graft being discovered to be the burden of her aims, she was expelled, convicted of double-dealing. Forthwith, with the brand of dishonor still warm upon her brow, she appeared at the Kangaroo convention. There she was received with cheers, and when the Kangaroos went and hid their diminished head in the Social Democratic camp, she was taken along and gladly accepted as part of the inventory,—another outrage on decency and common sense, but again outraged morality was promptly avenged. The convicted and expelled traitor by the S. L. P. turned and bruised those whose moral sense was of the fibre to welcome such as her—and she dug their grave this November as only the grave of those can be dug who raise dastardliness into a principle of Socialist "broadness."

The third event, the one a-comeing, is closely foreshadowed by the citations at the head of this article. The Volkszeitung Corporation has often been described in these columns. To sum up its physiognomy, the concern consists of small bourgeois elements and a sprinkling of "intellectuals"—all of them ashbarrel refuse of the German population, of which they are a sad caricature. As such the concern is animated by a combination of paltry, un-Socialist material interests and a grotesque nativism, which finds its grotesque expression in hatred and contempt for the American, our English-speaking fellow citizens in general. Thus animated, the Corporation, as it has expressly stated, does not trust the Socialist Movement of the land in any but German—meaning its own picked pets—hands. And it is wise in its generation. Out of its control, the Socialist Movement must make havoc of its bourgeois interests and ridiculous racial pretensions. Accordingly, wherever the Corporation could not rule it has sought to ruin the Socialist Movement. It tried the game on the S. L. P., but failed flatly. Having tried to steal the Party's name and to muzzle the Party by stealing its English press, and been roundly beaten, the Corporation needed a new "Socialist" party to serve as a tender to its business and to its nativist notions. In pursuit of its aims and needs the Corporation hastened to identify itself with a movement that had just sprung up in the West and that called itself variously Socialist or Social Democracy. All that is said above was well known by the said Western Movement. For all that, the Volkszeitung Corporation, bearing on its face still fresh scars it fetched in the attempt to rule or ruin the S. L. P., was welcomed—just as Carey was and Mrs. Avery.

Thus a third outrage was committed on decency, common sense and self-preservation by the Socialist, alias Social Democratic party. The supplemental event—the self-avenging of the outrage—is still a-comeing. How near, however, the avenging hour is may be judged by the citations that head this article. Nor were approaches thereto long in making their appearance.

Uriah Heep could not be more humble than the Corporation was when first admitted, but it soon began to carry out its scheme, until it now virtually has the Socialist, alias Social Democracy, under its thumb. It dominates the party's conventions with padded votes, "Porto Rico" contributing its pairs of hundreds; recently, when a national tour was arranged, it was one of its own creatures, Hanford—despised in his own Union for a fakir—who was inflicted upon the party; and when a national secretary was to be chosen this year the Corporation managed to smuggle into the office another of its creatures, William Mailly, its one-time hired man, who afterward served a post-graduate course under Carey in Massachusetts. Thus things were running smooth, and the Corporation hiding its claws when this year's elections took place. The Corporation knows the limitations of the vote it can rely on in New York. The continued smooth running of things depended upon the contingency of the vote outside the State, Massachusetts and Pennsylvania especially, continuing to mount. The snag was struck this year. The vote of the so-called Socialist, alias Social Democratic, party in Massachusetts tumbled headlong; in Pennsylvania likewise, even losing the party's official standing; and it looks as if a similar fate was met by the soap-bubble in Ohio. At any rate, the soap-bubble has burst. The Corporation now justly foresees breakers ahead, and it has begun drilling its crew for the rule or ruin game—as indicated by the citations with which it fomented racial aversion in breasts of its faithful, and by its ungarded crowing about New York, that is, its own boss-rights.

As in the instances of Carey and Mrs. Avery, so in this: It is at its own peril that a movement, that aims at Socialism, raises WRONG into a norm of conduct. We have seen Right avenged in two instances. It will be speedily avenged in the third, soon as matters shall have matured to the point when the corrupt Volkszeitung caricatures of Germans,—their minds poisoned with the notion that their English-speaking fellow citizens are "corrupt up to the marrow" and that themselves (it is to laugh!) are the God-ordained monopolists of Socialism,—will seek to run or ruin the wreckage of the Socialist, alias Social Democratic, party to the greater glory of tax-paying "Egyptian Onions" and "Babylonian Potatoes."



UNCLE SAM AND BROTHER JONATHAN.

BROTHER JONATHAN—I am at a loss to comprehend what you Socialists mean by dividing the people into three different classes.

UNCLE SAM—If you would only use your own intelligence, even unaided by Socialist Labor Party literature, you would cease to be "at a loss."

B. J.—We have but one kind of people, citizens; all equal before the law; and our free institutions are for the benefit of all.

U. S.—The devil you say?

B. J. (testily)—That's just what I say.

U. S.—Mention one of those free institutions.

B. J.—I'll mention you a dozen; 1st, The suffrage; 2nd, The right of any one to go into any pursuit he likes; 3rd, Our free schools; 4th, We are all born equal, we have no lords with special privileges; 5th—

U. S.—That'll do. Let us take up the first. You are a motorman; you told me that last election you did not vote. Did you not want to?

B. J.—I wanted to, but could not get off.

U. S.—Why not?

B. J.—I had to work.

U. S.—Why didn't you stay away from work and vote?

B. J.—And lose my job and starve?

U. S.—(grabs B. J. by the nape of the neck, pulls him to a near pump and holds his head under while he pumps a bucket full of water on B. J.'s head. When B. J. recovered his breath U. S. proceeds)—That much for equality before the law No. 1. Much good does the written "equality" do you if in practice you can't avail yourself of it!

B. J. tries to dry his head.

U. S.—Now for No. 2. Do you like standing ten and more hours on the front platform of a car, summer and winter, at the starvation wages you complain about?

B. J.—No, I don't like that.

U. S.—Why don't you go into the business of owning your own trolley-line or your own factory and have a good living and "choose your own pursuit," as you claim everyone here can do?

B. J.—I haven't the capital to do that.

U. S. (pulls B. J. again under the pump and gives his head another soaking. When B. J. has again recovered his breath U. S. proceeds)—You cannot exercise your functions unless you have capital or access to capital; you have none, and the only way you can get access to capital is by selling yourself at starvation wages to the Republican and Democratic capitalists. You have no choice. That much for "equality before the law," No. 2.

B. J. mops his head.

U. S.—Now for No. 3.—Would you not like to have gone through college?

B. J.—Indeed I would!

U. S.—Why didn't you?

B. J.—My parents were too poor; they even had to take me out of the grammar school to help them earn a living.

U. S.—And the school-house was open all the time, ready for you?

B. J.—Of course!

U. S. (pulls B. J. a third time to the pump and gives his head a third soaking)—That much for "equality before the law" No. 3. Much good does the school do to you or the abstract right to go there if the social system that the Democratic and the Republican parties uphold and that you live under bars you from access to the schools through poverty. Now to No. 4.

B. J.—At any rate we have no lords that we must knuckle under—

U. S.—Let's see. Must you and all workers not "knuckle under" to your bosses from early infancy, or can you do what you want? Don't they compel you to sign away the rights the law gives you to protection from injury in exchange for a crust? And, furthermore, do you not know that our workers in America support more lords, princes and marquises than any European country? Who are the Duchess of Marlborough, the Marchioness of Castellane, the Princess of Hatzfeld, the Countess of Campolite, the Princess of Cantacuzine, the Duchess de Roxburghe, and scores of others if not American women who own our American property, and whom we, our wives and children must support with the sweat of our brows, and who bully us and have caused us to be clubbed and shot if we strike? (Pulls B. J. a fourth time under the pump and administers a fourth soaking.) That much for "equality before the law," No. 4. Much good

(Continued on page 6.)



## CORRESPONDENCE

[CORRESPONDENTS WHO PREFER TO APPEAR IN PRINT UNDER AN ASSUMED NAME WILL ATTACH SUCH NAME TO THEIR COMMUNICATIONS, BESIDE THEIR OWN SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS. NONE OTHER WILL BE RECOGNIZED.]

## POINTERS FOR TELLER &amp; DORSEY.

To The Daily and Weekly People:—While I read with much interest the Colorado politician-Union Pacific letters, yet being a railroad man, they were no surprise to me. Knowing railroad officials and methods as I do, I can imagine, tho', the scurry that will be made in the hunt for the source of "leakage" and the precautions that will be taken to prevent such leakage in the future. The unpatriotic villain who gave the game away ought to be lynched, and if some people could have their way he would be, could they find him.

I know a little something myself about how passes are issued, and I don't mind giving a few pointers for the benefit of Teller & Dorsey as a sort of balm for the roasting they must have received from railroad and public officials because of the expose.

Time was when railroad passes were to be had by employees for the asking. They were not then considered as part of the wages. But as cities grew up and railroad men began to seek refuge from high rents at points along the line free transportation became recognized as a part of the wages. If an employee was asked how much he got, ten to one he would name the money figure and add with a pass to such and such a place.

Employees kept on using passes until they practically filled up morning and evening trains. I remember riding on an Erie train years ago, and out of a full car the conductor got about ten tickets. The officials then decided that too many employees were riding, and the issuing of passes began to be restricted, but it was a long fight, so strong had the custom become. An Erie employee who had been refused a pass by his superior officer carried the matter to Jay Gould. Gould asked the man that if he was working for a farmer would he expect the farmer to hitch up and cart him to wherever he wanted to go. The applicant said: "No, I would not. But if the farmer had his horse hitched and was going my way, I would think him damned mean if he refused to give me a lift." He got his pass.

In those days shippers and politicians had no trouble in getting passes, but with railroad consolidation pass restriction began. Ordinary officials no longer had authority to issue passes, and as the lines lengthened free transportation became more valuable. Petty officials having axes of their own to grind—both for themselves privately and to increase their standing with the company—resorted to various schemes to furnish free transportation. While working at the business in New York City I was under an official who allowed employees only two round-trip passes a year, but his friends, police captains, ward heelers and others, rode on the other passes issued in the names of employees, but which they never saw. This official died in disgrace, it having been found that he was padding the pay roll and at the same time keeping expenses down by robbing the men to the extent that he padded the roll.

At another station at which I worked in New York the official in charge worked the same game, but a little differently. He would call an employee into his private office and say: "You are not likely to want a pass for a month or two are you?" Of course the man would take the tip and say: "No." "Well, I want to get a pass for a friend, and will use your name, if you don't object." Of course, the employee wouldn't object. On the contrary, some of them felt highly flattered at being asked to allow the use of their names.

I wish I could remember all the places I have visited—in name only. I have been "a valuable employee who needed a trip for his health," or "who wishes to visit his old home after a long absence," etc. I knew one man, an employee, who got an annual pass because "he stood by us and rendered valuable services in time of a strike." Thank Heaven! this never could be given as a reason for granting me a favor!

I remember an amusing incident on one occasion. A pass for another had been issued in my name to a point adjacent to Atlanta during the Exposition there. The general office of the road was in New York—the pass-issuing office—and I was warned to make myself scarce, in case any one from that office came to our place during the time I was supposed to be away.

I was working away one afternoon, when a gentleman from the general office put in his appearance. He had the reputation of being "nosey," so I scooted, and the only avenue of escape was up the stairs to the stock room in the garret. It was winter, the stock room was unheated, and I was in my shirt sleeves. After a while I cautiously reconnoitered, but the enemy was still below, and in dangerous proximity to the part of the office in which I worked. The porter managed to smuggle my coat to me, and I shivered up there for an hour and a half. The place was unlighted, and I dared not move around, as there was no flooring, and gas pipes and other impediments were likely to trip one up, which would make a racket as if the old building was coming down.

When I think of some of the ducks who have borne, temporarily, my honorable name it makes me blush. I have

been a Tammany heeler, a saloon-keeper and "reputable" business man in turn—everything but a preacher, and they, you know, get half rates by divine right, and on the plea that they act as a "moral police" in the interests of the companies.

Another official that I know, instead of issuing passes, buys regular tickets, taking a receipt for the money, and then by some sort of hocus pocus gets it back again from the passenger department. This might appeal to Teller & Dorsey as the best scheme, but there is danger of politicians and others working this game and selling the tickets to scalpers. True passes are also sold to scalpers, but they are harder to get rid of than tickets; the average man fears detection and trouble of some sort if he buys them. The penalty for an employee to loan or sell a pass is instant dismissal.

Now, Mr. Editor, I do hope you will be so kind as to publish this letter for the benefit of Teller & Dorsey—among others—and as for that scallawag of "A Colorado Wage Slave"—more power to him!

Pittsburg, Nov. 12.

## TRUE TO LIFE!

To The Daily and Weekly People:—Herewith 20c. Please send me extra copies of the Sunday Daily People of Nov. 8, 1903. The article "Scathing and Documentary Evidence" is true to life. I handle similar transportation requests for the State Rangers, who are nominally employed to protect the border, but are really corporation police. Brown.

Dallas, Texas, Nov. 14.

## BADLY SHATTERED DREAMS.

To The Daily and Weekly People:—When, not quite a year ago, I wandered about my native country, Sweden, and saw many of my countrymen going beyond the great ocean, I used to think that I, too, would like to go westward to "the Great Republic" for there must be something of the independence and liberty that rumor told of, and furthermore, I thought, the working men out there must be of a higher education and more intelligence than we were at home.

At last I came here myself, landing on the 17th of November, 1902, in New York, in "The Great Republic of freedom and liberty" of which I had dreamed. I secured a situation at the Myopia Hunt Club, Hamilton, Mass. There I tried to learn how much average intelligence the American workers in the rural districts possess, and I must admit that all the dreams I had dreamed in Sweden were badly shattered. I beheld coachmen who drove every day between the hunt club and the residences of millionaires, but I couldn't perceive any intelligence about them. On the contrary, all of them seemed as satisfied with their low, dependent, menial position as is a ruminating cow with hers.

One never heard them interested in their own condition, but that of their masters, their fleecers. If one listened to their conversation, one would hear something like this:

"My 'fellow' has bought a new pony to-day, and I think it will win the race," and

"My 'fellow' is a good polo player, so I think he'll win. I hope so," etc.

Every one of these coachmen thinks he is a great man in charge of a great business. Poor wage slaves, they don't know what will happen to them if their employers discharge them!

But once, while out at Hamilton, did I hear the word Socialism mentioned. One of these workers said, "I don't believe in Socialism. I don't think it will be of any use." Another said, "I don't think it as bad as the Post and Globe make it out to be. They never tell the truth about it. They don't want to explain it."

I then tried to show them how the Boston Globe and Post represent the capitalist system and the capitalist class. They would not, consequently, give information on Socialism, which aims at the overthrow of both. I urged them to read The People and get a knowledge of Socialism; but the words "capitalist class" have no room in their vocabulary, and it would be easier to teach a hen astronomy than the majority of the men in the rural districts about Hamilton, their own class interests and welfare; in other words, Socialism.

I have not got very much to say regarding the millionaires out at Hamilton. When I heard their conversations I was reminded of some of the incidents that occurred in the royal palace in France, close on the French revolution of 1789. Many of them realize they are dancing on a volcano. Many of them were so degraded by a surfeit of food and liquors that I had my doubts as to whether they belonged to the human race or not.

Light, more light, is wanted. Let it be remembered and let it be understood that all who do not strive to enlighten their fellow wage slaves are traitors to the working class.

Let us join the S. L. P. and spread its literature among the workers. Let us overthrow the capitalist system in which a handful of parasites manage to keep the millions of toilers in bondage, and substitute the Co-operative Commonwealth!

A. L. Boston, Mass., Nov. 8.

## CAREY'S DEFEAT.

To The Daily and Weekly People:—The defeat of James Carey was due to his support of Tobin's union, and its policy of coercing workmen in the interests of the shoe manufacturers and the labor fakirs. As the S. L. P. and the S. T. & L. A. supported and furthered the opposition to Tobin, the defeat of Carey is a vindication of the policy of these two organizations. That is how it looks to me. Shoe Worker. New York, Nov. 16.

## "A HOT ONE," INDEED!

To The Daily and Weekly People:—"The Erie Daily Times," a capitalist newspaper, in last evening's issue (Saturday, Nov. 14) printed an article entitled "This Is a Hot One." This title, while reflecting the callous cynicism of the average newspaper, is not a misnomer. It tells of the Grand Jury's arraignment of the management of the almshouse, which says that the conditions prevailing there are a disgrace, and that cattle are more comfortably provided for than are the inmates.

The Grand Jury of this locality, like every other section of "Free America," is composed of men who are looked upon as "the respectable element in society." As a matter of course, they uphold the capitalist society, which produces the evils against which they inveigh; but their utterances prove what the crazy Socialists have all along contended, viz., that after lives of toil, creating vast wealth for the robber class, and when no longer able to keep pace with the intensified conditions in the various industries caused by "speeding up the machinery," having been displaced by "younger blood," the impoverished working people's only reward is an almshouse, in which the conditions are worse than those provided for cattle. How long will the working class stand these tragedies on modern times?

Jeremiah Devine.

Erie, Pa., Nov. 15.

## UNION WRECKING IN YONKERS.

To The Daily and Weekly People:—On Friday, Nov. 13, it was decided by a joint meeting here of the two locals of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, with a membership close to 350, to withdraw from the Building Trades Council, only six voting against the proposition.

What lead the carpenters to take this step was that whenever a non-union man of another trade was discovered working on a job where the carpenters were, the latter were called on strike until the non-union man was discharged or joined the union of his craft. It was these sympathetic strikes that the carpenters objected to.

The Carpenters' organization is the strongest in Yonkers. The Bricklayers' and Masons' is next, but it got out of the Building Trades Council years ago.

The Interstate Bosses' Organization has been trying for a long time to break up the B. T. C., especially the Hod Carriers', Laborers' and the Lathers' unions, two local organizations not affiliated with any national body, which would not allow any one outside their unions, not even if he was a union man from another city, to work at their trade in Yonkers, unless he put up a \$35 initiation fee.

The Carpenters, having decided to go it alone, it means the break-up of these unions, as the Carpenters, like the Bricklayers and Masons, will now work with any men holding union cards. The Carpenters know full well that their withdrawal from the B. T. C. is the ruin of the other trades.

If this is not union wrecking, what is it to be called? It is only about five months ago when all the small brothers ("brothers" are what the union men call each other here) stood by their strong brothers during a lockout. Now, because the small brothers wish their big brothers to help them, the strong brothers refuse.

Workers, shame on such solidarity! Wipe out an organization with such principles and put in its stead the principles of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, i. e., the summary ending of that barbarous struggle at the earliest possible time by the abolition of classes, the restoration of the land and all the means of production, transportation and distribution to the people as a collective body, and the substitution of the Co-operative Commonwealth for the present state of planless production, industrial war and social disorder; a commonwealth in which every worker shall have the free exercise and full benefit of his faculties multiplied by all the modern factors of civilization.

Organizer L. A. 42, S. T. & L. A. Yonkers, N. Y., Nov. 16.

## "THE TELEGRAPHER" BRAND OF "SOCIALISM."

To The Daily and Weekly People:—Owing to the fact that the "Telegrapher," monthly magazine of the Order of Railroad Telegraphers, in its last issue came out pretty strong for Socialism, some surprise is expressed in different quarters at the O. R. T. delegate to the A. F. of L. convention, Dan Ramsay, of St. Louis, assisting such fakirs and traitors to the working class as Gompers, Shaffer and Duncan in an attempt to turn down the motion to appropriate \$1,000 to the victims of the capitalist system who are now combating militia, under orders of the capitalist Governor of Colorado, in their eight-hour day strike, viz., the Western Miners.

Evidently the Socialism of the O. R. T. journal is only skin deep—plainly not the sound revolutionary scientific Socialism of the Socialist Labor Party. Ramsay's action should prove to the working class that the fight must be fought by the

workers themselves.

President Perham, of the O. R. T., and President Long, of the Commercial Telegraphers, on their arrival from the A. F. of L. convention, announced things "safe in the hands of Ramsay." His action against the striking miners proves it. Perham also stated that he did not believe in politics in the union, as he declared, the revolutionary politics of the miners was the cause of the militia being used against them.

Workers, educate for the future reign of justice and equity. Join the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, that teaches the working class to vote as it strikes—for the Socialist Labor Party at the ballot box for the supremacy of the workers, for a co-operation in place of wage-slavery.

A. J. B. Jersey City, N. J., Nov. 16.

## GRAND JUNCTION VOTE AND NEWS

To The Daily and Weekly People:—The election is over, the votes are all counted, and the S. L. P. steps to the front and takes third place in the political field of Mesa County, Colorado, while the Socialist Party has gone away back and sat down.

The election in Colorado this year was a tame affair, as there was but one office to fill, and that the Judge of the Supreme Court. In fact, the majority of the people of the State thought there was to be no election at all, which accounts for the light vote cast on election day.

The following is the vote in Mesa County last year and this year:

1902.—For Representative: S. P., 407; S. L. P., 149.

1903.—Judge of Supreme Court: S. L. P., 84; S. P., 73.

The "Socialist" Party has dropped to the fourth place and lost its official standing in both Grand Junction and Mesa County, while the S. L. P. has, for the first time, taken the third place in both the city and county, and second place in two of the precincts, and is now an official party of Grand Junction, but not of Mesa County.

The "Socialist Party" vote, or lack of votes, calls to mind a little tilt that took place between Comrade Chase and Mr. Sawyer, of the "Socialist" party on the S. L. P. and so-called Socialist party press, at a meeting Comrade Chase addressed in Grand Junction on Oct. 22.

Comrade Chase had just made clear the fact that the S. L. P. was the only political party that owned its own press, and that the S. L. P. would not permit its press to be used in the interest of capitalism, as was the case with the privately owned press, such as the Appeal to Reason, that supports the S. P.

This riled Mr. Sawyer, and he at once spoke up in defence of the "Appeal," and boasted about the number of papers that was supporting their party, naming "The Alliance of the Rockies" as their leader for Colorado.

As "The Appeal to Reason" is their choice of all the papers published in the world and "The Alliance of the Rockies" their choice for Colorado, and as these are the papers they always scatter in Grand Junction, we will give a sample of the rot we find in copies of recent date.

Two-thirds of the first page of "The Alliance of the Rockies" for Oct. 24 was used to boost their candidate for Supreme Judge, who is a member of the American Bar Association. This number was scattered throughout the city, and this is the way this long article winds up:

"God bless the American Bar Association! They have done themselves credit as honest men, and have rendered a service to their country, the value of which is beyond estimation."

Now, wouldn't that jar you? Yet such rot is good enough for the S. P. to buy and scatter just to make votes.

Now, we will take what the S. P. think the grandest paper in the world, "The Appeal to Reason."

We find across the top of the first page of "The Appeal" of October 10 one line as follows:

"Two million Socialist votes in 1904 spells victory for Socialism in 1908."

Then, on the second page and first column of the same paper we learn how they are going to do it, which is as follows:

"We are not absolutely opposed to all temporary alliances with the capitalist parties, but only on one condition: THAT THE SOCIALIST PARTY MUST BE ABLE TO DICTATE THE TERMS OF THAT ALLIANCE."

"In other words, we must, first of all, become a prominent political factor, and the alliance must be sought, not by us, but by a capitalist party that is weaker than we are. Then they will be forced to make greater concessions to us than we shall make to them. That is the only condition under which any alliance with a capitalist party is safe for the Socialist party."

Now, comrades, isn't that rich and fine? Isn't it as rich as cream and fine as silk? Wouldn't it make a nice "P. S." for the leaflet "The Difference?"

Is it any wonder that their vote has fallen in Mesa County from 407 last year (and two of their candidates received over 500 votes last year) to 73 this year? Think of a party, claiming to be a revolutionary party, talking about making concessions to the capitalist!

In conclusion, and without boasting, we want to say we think we have as strong an S. L. P. section as can be found in any town the size of Grand Junction, in spite of the fact that this, the Grand Valley, is a sort of a paradise for the middle class, where as high as \$45 worth of wheat, \$30 worth of alfalfa, \$150 worth of potatoes, and \$500 worth of peaches, pears, apples and grapes are produced from one acre of ground in a

single year, but the wage slave is robbed in the Grand Valley just the same as in every other country on earth.

S. B. Hutchinson. Grand Junction, Col., Nov. 8.

## PIERSON IN ST. JOSEPH, MO.

To The Daily and Weekly People:—With regard to the week's work just ended in St. Joseph, Mo., I will say that I succeeded in getting 26 subscribers for The Weekly and 5 for The Monthly People.

The packing houses barred me from getting inside their places, and I was put out of the Burlington R. R. shops by one of their lackeys, so I had to fall back on the small factories, which handicapped me very much in my work.

I held two very successful street meetings, distributing a good quantity of leaflets and succeeded in selling 30 books. I returned to Kansas City yesterday, and will leave to-night for Springfield.

Charles Pierson.

Kansas City, Mo., Nov. 16.

## TO THE MEN WHO MAKE THE S. L. P.

To The Daily and Weekly People:—Enclosed you will please find money order for \$2, to go to help pay off the debt on our press. I will send \$3 more before January, making in all \$5.

Whenever I read of the contributions made by Comrades all over, for the same purpose, I was glad, yet it was a standing reproach to me for not doing something myself to free the paper of the debt. But it was not my fault. The money I sent you now we laid away for a barrel of flour for the winter. After reading of the effort made by our New York Comrades, we decided to send this money to The Daily People. This was done after a family conclave. It was carried unanimously.

I hope that the Comrades of the S. L. P. all over will take a hand in this last effort to free the Party plant of the debt. What a glad day it will be for us! A burden will be taken off the shoulders of our officers, who so valiantly defended our press against all attacks from within and without.

Come now, Comrades, you professional men in our ranks, who can and did rise above your material interests, you have volunteered to fight side by side with us wageworkers; you will not desert us in this hour of need. There are but few of you in our ranks, I know. This I also know—that a dollar does not look to you as big as a mountain, as to us wageworkers. Perhaps you forget your Comrades, or perhaps you made peace with capitalism, and are too busy to think of your Comrades in the shop and the mill. Come, now; we need no ornaments in our army. Every one is both a general and a private combined, and every one must do his duty.

Come forward, ye noble Comrades of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, California and Washington—East, West, North and South \$4.643 is a great sum; it will be a little when we all take hold. Come forward, ye men who, for some reason or other, are not connected with the Party, but who are with us in spirit. You pay nothing toward the expense of running the organization. This is the opportunity for you to show that you are MEN. Come forward! The debt must be cleared before the New Year. Will you do your part?

And you, wageworkers, militants of the S. L. P., brawn and sinew of the revolutionary army of America, I fear to approach you. Your condition reflects my opinion. I know every penny you give is a sacrifice. But we must—we must give all we can, no matter how little. Our cause demands it, and there is nothing too good to offer for the cause. The Bastille must be stormed, and we will do it! But we must first of all free our weapon from the hold the enemy has upon it—the debt upon the Party plant. Instead of keeping our officers in constant worry how to meet payments that come due, they will devote their time and energy to build up the party organization. New life will be instilled into our organization. Come forward, Comrades! Let us show to the world what men can do when imbued with the spirit of a noble cause.

And you, too, Comrades whose voice and pen thrilled us in our battle with capitalism—you gave us courage in the past; dip deep your pen, deep in your heart, in your mind. The cause of the working class demands your best thought, your clearest mind. Make The People not only the best, but the very best, paper for workmen to read. Make it our guide, our inspiration, our weapon. Make The People the leader of revolutionary thought in America!

A word to you, Comrades of New York: You need no urging; you have done nobly all along! You have been on the firing line for all these years. More than once, when the party was in danger, you responded like MEN. You gave your money, your time, fighting back all enemies and traitors, holding high the banner of S. L. P. Who would not be proud to claim comradeship with you?

I know you will do all you can to make the coming festival a success. Oh, how I would like to be with you on that day, to press your hand in the old-fashioned way! But no matter. Like many others far away, I will be there in spirit, and when you gather there on the 26th, remember the Comrades outside of New York are with you, brave men and women of New York.

Now let us not rest until our press is clear of debt. With The Daily People plant free of debt, we can commence the campaign of 1904 in earnest.

An Old Comrade From Up the State. Peekskill, N. Y., Nov. 18.

## LETTER-BOX OFF-HAND ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS

[NO QUESTIONS WILL BE CONSIDERED THAT COME IN ANONYMOUS LETTERS. ALL LETTERS MUST CARRY A BONA FIDE SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS.]

C. B., VANCOUVER, B. C.—Send your address. There is a mail here for you.

J. A. S., SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.—1st. You will be pleased to know that many are The People's warm friends who, like you, favor it frequently with articles. Couple that fact with this other, that even the Weekly is of limited space, and it springs up obvious that many of these contributions must be excluded, or many very much delayed in publication. But they are not lost. Their contents help to keep this office informed. Spread your bread upon the waters, and never look for the return.

2d. Your present argument on the projected Scandinavian Federation is published in this issue.

3d. The best way to do is to write direct to that paper and get copies of that issue, Sept. 24.

A. C., NEW YORK.—The vote of the so-called Socialist party in Pennsylvania this year was 13,245; last year it was 21,910—a loss of over 7,000 which carries with it the loss of official standing that it had gained last year.

T. H. S., BOSTON, MASS.—When Mr. David Goldstein starts lecturing upon "A Nation of Fatherless Children," he does not describe the Socialist Republic; he exposes the capitalist social system with its swelling number of founding asylums and deserted babes. And by himself lecturing on the subject, he, so has an all-wise Providence shrewdly contrived things, illustrates in his own bachelor person—a childless father—the obverse of the morally putrid capitalist social order, a society where "childless fathers" abound and are on the increase, seeing the increasing raft of Goldstein bachelors that are floating about. To say "bachelor" of a certain age is to imply volumes.

B. B., ALBANY, N. Y.—To properly appreciate the matter, the element of corruption must be eliminated. Eliminating that, what is left?—The Utopian, against which Socialist science guards. The active element in those who seek to convert the Labor Leaders in A. F. of L. conventions assembled is Utopianism, mooncalism. As well seek to convert the Middle Class. The "Labor Leader" has class interests at war with Socialism. Such class interests are rocks under water that wreck whatever ship fancies them to be fluid. Socialist science warns against the folly. Of course the child of Folly is Fraud. Don't impute causal powers to the consequence.

E. J. W., NEW YORK.—It is the Jamestown, N. Y., "Morning Post" of last Oct. 29. Get it. You will find a Social Democratic party meeting advertised under the false colors of "Socialist Labor Party Rally." The paper is for inspection in this office.

G. F. L., RUTLAND, MASS.—The reason H. S. Ale's letter, "On the N. E. C.," was published is that he had not yet had the floor on the subject. The reason your last letter was not published is that you have twice had the floor on the subject.

E. S., NEWPORT NEWS, VA.—(1) Matchett did not receive 34,000 votes at the last election. The official returns are not in. The bulk of his up-State vote was purely mistaken through voting-machine defects, as reported in these columns. Just watch the drop next year.

(2) Matchett was expelled from the S. L. P. in 1899 for having over his own signature proved himself a falsifier.

T. R., ST. PAUL, MINN.—The "Modern Harvesters" will be attended to.

A. L. H., MINDEN, NEB.—Has Robinson Crusoe become a Greenbacker?

## ENTHUSIASTIC FOR PARTY PRESS.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—On Tuesday, Nov. 17, a very enthusiastic meeting of the combined branches, Branch 1 and Branch 2 (English and German) of Section Hoboken was held at headquarters. Comrade Eck presided and delivered a short address as to the work of the party for the campaign of 1904. It was decided to start right in and leave nothing undone in exposing the fake "Socialists" of Hoboken, otherwise known as Kangaroos. Comrade Sweeney delivered a short address, calling on the comrades to make one Titanic effort to aid in clearing of the debt of the Party Press.

Comrade Schroeder was appointed to take charge of and receive contributions to The Daily People Fund. As a proof of the enthusiasm that prevailed at the meeting \$65 were pledged to The Daily People Debt Fund. The Hoboken comrades intend to fall in line with the New York comrades and follow the example set by them on last Sunday.

Three new members were accepted at the meeting, making six in all for the month of November.

Hoboken, N. J., November 19.

## ORGANIZATION OF RETAIL CLERKS.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—I wish to amend the call of Organizer James Hanlon, of D. A. 49, for retail "dry goods clerks" to send their names to him for the purpose of forming a local of clerks in the S. T. & L. A. I would prefer to see the call changed to retail clerks of any kind.

I do not see any reason why clerks in all branches of the retail business should not get together, for a starter anyway, and afterward branch out, if necessary.

The term "dry goods clerk" is now obsolete. With the passing of the small dry goods stores the clerk does not need

Why, when we last heard of him he was a Single Taxer.

A. B., NEW YORK.—Socialism, no more than hydrostatics, has anything to do with religion. A man's conception of his Creator and his views of worship are his private affair—as private as whether he prefers a pink, a blue or a green necktie.

H. B., ELIZABETHPORT, N. J.—The matter has been often treated in these columns. May get up opportunely a complete resume. The essential facts are that during the Anthracite strike bituminous coal went up from about \$4 a ton to \$20; that if the bituminous men had struck the anthracite men would have had a better chance, but the bituminous coal mine owners could not have made the profits that they did while the strike lasted; that Mitchell caused the bituminous men to remain at work; that this was to order them to scab it on their anthracite brethren in the interest of the bituminous mine owners, who in many instances "checked off" from the wages of their employees the strike assessment to keep the anthracite miners on strike; that the bituminous mine owners raked in millions during the strike of the anthracite men; that Hanna is a bituminous mine owner and the President of the Civic Federation of which John Mitchell is one of the Vice-Presidents—See?

B. D., TROY, N. Y.—An instance? The "American Labor Union Journal" of Oct. 22 refers to "Scab-herding A. F. of Lism."

J. W., NEW YORK.—The information is false. The gentleman did not flee from Germany because he was a Socialist. He scooted because he had embezzled. And he was not even a Socialist then. He was then a "Freisinger" or some such other tomfool. He became a Socialist (!!!) here.

A. J., BOSTON, MASS.—(1) The Amalgamated Union, whose men took the places of the International Machinists on strike in Hoboken, N. J., is the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, and Isaac Cowen of Cleveland is one of its officers.

(2) Isaac Cowen is not a member of the S. L. P. He is a member of the so-called Socialist party of Ohio, and ran this year on that party's ticket for Governor. What his vote is we do not yet know. From appearances it fell off.

G. W. G., CINCINNATI, O.—The laws against passes are meant only against the



## OFFICIAL

**NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE**  
Kahn, Secretary, 24 New Road street, New York.  
**SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF CANADA**  
National Secretary, C. A. Weitzel, 2064 Dundas street, London, Ont.  
**NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY**, 24 New Road street, New York City. (The Party's literary agency.)  
Notice—For technical reasons no Party announcements can go in that are not in this office by Tuesday, 10 p. m.

## NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Regular meeting held on November 20, with John J. Donohue in the chair. Edward C. Schmidt, the recording secretary, detained by working overtime, came late, and Timothy Walsh acted in his stead. Absent, J. Hammer. The financial report showed receipts, \$43.20; expenditures, \$44.25.

**Communications:** From Cleveland, Ohio, upon the result of the election, indicating that the loss of votes sustained by the Kungs would probably take away their official standing; also sending money for stamps, Auxiliary League Fund and Daily People Special Fund. From Troy, Philadelphia and Baltimore relative to circular letter received from N. E. C. on the Daily People. From San Francisco, Cal., reporting exhaustively upon the situation there, the work of the educational club recently formed and the chances of soon forming a section. From Lowell, Mass., reporting the resignation from the Party of John T. Youngjohns, the treasurer of the section, and filling of the vacancy by the election of Horace B. Lang. From Salt Lake City, Utah, a very encouraging report as to the work done there for the Party press, showing a steady rise of circulation brought about by the fact that all members are taking a hand. From Peoria, Ill., to the effect that the section is taking up the work with the prepaid subscription blanks; also about a matter referred to Section Detroit, Mich. From Pueblo, Col., and many other points bearing upon the work done to increase the circulation. From Columbus, Ohio, suggesting a tour of agitation, which was not considered feasible at the time being.

Two communications from the Massachusetts S. E. C., one asking for a ruling upon an amendment to State by-laws, in which the S. E. C. is designated as the "General Committee." Explanation given tend to show that, under the Massachusetts election law the Party will have two committees, one the S. E. C., to attend to purely political matters, nominations, etc.; the other to attend to S. L. P. work and propaganda; the former to conform with the law, the latter to do the constructive work of the Party. Section Everett having refused to vote on the amendment, contending that the amendment is unconstitutional, the ruling was asked for. The N. E. C. ruled that, inasmuch as the national convention of 1900 gave to State organizations the utmost freedom of action to so shape their form of organization as not to conflict with existing election laws, the amendment in question, if adopted by a general vote of the membership in the State, is valid and will stand. The second communication from the Massachusetts S. E. C. contained a complaint against the Labor News Company in connection with the printing of a leaflet for the Massachusetts campaign, the S. E. C. refusing to pay for same. Also against the editor of The People for having published matter contained in said leaflet. The Labor News Company submitted a statement of its side of the case, accompanied by exhibits in the shape of letters received from the Massachusetts State Executive Committee. The matter being too voluminous to be disposed of at once, a committee of two was elected to investigate and report at the next meeting.

Adjournd. Timothy Walsh, Recording Secretary, pro tem.

**CANADIAN N. E. C.**  
London, Ont., Nov. 13.—The regular meeting of the N. E. C. was held at headquarters, with W. D. Forbes in the chair and Comrades Ross and Weitzel absent; the former excused, the latter not.

A communication from Section London to the effect that Frank Hunt had been elected to the vacancy on the N. E. C. was read and filed. Comrade Hunt being present, he was installed forthwith and the secretary instructed to send out same for ratification.

Owing to the absence of the national secretary, there was practically no correspondence before the committee.

The matter of report blanks, left over from last meeting, was taken up. As it was believed by some of the comrades that the sample sent to the committee was in the possession of Comrade Wade, the former recording secretary, J. Pearce, was appointed to interview him concerning it.

It was also decided to instruct the national secretary to send out the semi-annual report immediately upon receiving same corrected from the auditors. Philip Courtenay, Rec. Sec.

**MASSACHUSETTS S. E. C.**  
Regular meeting Massachusetts S. E. C., Boston, Nov. 8, called to order by the chairman, John R. Oldham. Roll call showed all members present. Minutes of previous regular and special meeting read and adopted.

Comrade Coyle, on Weekly People Prize Committee, reports that he has written call to Sections, and sent the same to the Party press, urging the Party members to greater effort in pushing the work of securing subscribers for The Weekly People.

Oldham and Berry reported on the matter of the alleged Brennan interview. They stated that Comrade Brennan did not give out the interview as printed in

the Boston papers; and that he had sent the Post, which first printed it, a correction of the same, which was not published.

Agitation Committee reported on the work under their supervision, and the results, which was later concurred in, and ordered that the organizer be kept on the road until the secretary is elected for 1904.

The secretary, Berry, reports that he saw the lawyer and got his opinion, as ordered. The report was accepted and opinion ordered spread upon the records. Bill of \$5 from J. W. Meader, for work done in Haverhill putting out leaflets, ordered paid. From J. O'Felly, accepted for files. From Anderson, accepted for files. From Lowell, asking for resignation blanks. The two secretaries were appointed a committee to get out new draft of same at once. Bill from Berry, for campaign expenses, ordered paid and turned over to auditors. Bill from Section Boston for \$30, due for services of James Connolly, ordered paid.

Referendum vote on Conference propositions declared closed and the following action taken:

Art. 1, secretary to write Sections and get the full list of members who are citizens on Jan. 1, 1904.

Art. 2, financial secretary to send bill to all Sections for bill due.

Art. 3, referred to N. E. C. for ruling, as Section Everett claims it is in violation of national constitution.

Art. 4, no action necessary.

Art. 5, wage fixed the secretary to send out call for nominations for 1904 to Sections from which secretary and committee is elected.

Art. 6 was killed by referendum vote of Party.

Art. 7, no action taken.

Art. 8, no action needed.

Art. 9, committee of one elected to carry out the plan; Coyle, committee.

Art. 10, referred to the committee of 1904.

Art. 11, Berry elected a committee of one to have charge of the certificates, he to have power to call for assistance to push the plan throughout the State.

Art. 12 and 13, no action needed.

Berry and Hillberg were elected a committee of two to visit the Scandinavian Socialist Club, asking them to co-operate with us in running a fair this winter, that the funds may be secured to get the twenty certificates which the S. E. C. is pledged to take.

Ordered that secretary write all Sections, asking that they arrange for lectures during the winter months, Sections to answer, stating who they desire for speaker.

Ordered that Berry report for Daily People the convention of A. F. of L., which will be held in Boston, beginning Monday, Nov. 9. Adjourned.

Michael T. Berry, Secretary.  
82 Jefferson street, Lynn, Mass.

**ILLINOIS S. E. C.**  
Regular meeting Illinois State Executive Committee, held at Belleville, Sunday, Nov. 8, with Comrade Gass in the chair. Edie, Veal and Suber absent—two former without excuse and latter excused. Minutes of previous meeting approved as read.

Statement and appeal for Party press sent by Organizer to Sections and members-at-large endorsed and Organizer instructed to procure one prepaid Weekly People block to supply members-at-large.

**Communications:** From Springfield, relating to work of Section, and reporting that Baswell, a one-time Debate, who joined the Section last spring, after renouncing the bogus Socialist party, had gone back to wallow in the mire. From Austin Alley, member-at-large, of Staunton, on conditions there and pledging 50 cents a month to the State Fund. From Duquoin, on Party matters and ordering stamps and other supplies. From Peoria and Chicago, ordering stamps. From National Secretary on Party press.

The action of Section East St. Louis on Daily People debt (which was based on a letter in The People of Oct. 25, from O. Beldner, Jamestown, N. Y., who proposed that each member of the S. L. P. pledge 50 cents per week for six weeks to wipe out debt by first of year) was endorsed. They reported \$13 had been collected and sent on.

**Financial Report:**  
General Fund—Balance on hand Oct. 25, \$4.50; receipts from Chicago, for stamps, \$3; from Peoria, for stamps, \$3; from East St. Louis, for stamps, \$1.20; from Duquoin, for stamps, \$1.44; from Belleville, for constitution, 25 cents; total, \$13.48; expenses, P. O. stamps, \$1; balance on hand, \$12.48.

**State Fund—Receipts:** From Belleville, \$4.50; from Madison Co., \$1. Expenses, Weekly People prepaid block, \$5; deficit Oct. 25, \$4.90; deficit Nov. 8, \$4.40. G. A. Jennings, Rec. Sec.

**DE LEON IN TROY.**

Comrades of the S. L. P. and readers of The People in Troy, Albany, Rensselaer, Watervliet and Schenectady, take notice:

Daniel De Leon will lecture at Tibbitt's Veteran Hall, 303 River street, Troy, N. Y., on Sunday, December 13, at 3 p. m., subject, "A Bona Fide Labor Press." Admission will be ten cents.

The lecture is held for the purpose of raising \$100 for the Daily People Home-stretch Fund. Its success depends on the amount of work each and every comrade and sympathizer in the vicinity does. You have the tickets—leave no stone unturned! Let the watchword be, "Hustle!" Committee.

**JERSEY CITY, N. J., VOTE.**  
The S. L. P. vote in Jersey City, N. J., at the last election was 278.

## THE DAILY PEOPLE HOME STRETCH FUND.

UNDER THIS HEAD WILL BE PUBLISHED ALL DONATIONS MADE FOR THE LAST FINAL EFFORT TO CLEAR UP THE BALANCE OF THE DEBT ON THE DAILY PEOPLE PRINTING PLANT. THAT BALANCE, ON NOVEMBER 15, WAS \$4,643, PLUS INTEREST. WATCH AND SEE HOW THE FIGURES OF THE "HOME-STRETCH FUND" GET UP TO IT.

Previously acknowledged.....\$139.50  
Chr. Rossbach, Gloversville, N. Y. 2.00  
34th A. D., N. Y., per M. Heyman. 24.00  
H. A. Schoeps, Union Hill, N. J. 5.00  
Fred. Koettgen, Paterson, N. J. 9.00  
J. Schwenk, Jersey City, N. J. 3.00  
J. N. Mullin, Shelby, Pa. 50  
G. Popper, City. 1.00  
Chas. Zolot, Peekskill, N. Y. 2.00  
W. J. Wellington, City. 1.00  
Mrs. F. Brauckman, City. 5.00  
F. Brauckman, City. 5.00  
J. J. Leahy, City. 5.00  
C. Christiansen, New Haven, Conn. 3.00  
A. M. Scherzer, City. 1.00  
F. Frankel, City. 50  
M. Swenson, City. 5.00  
H. Sauthoff, City. 3.00  
John Howard, City. 3.00

Total.....\$217.50

## DISTRICT ALLIANCE, NO. 19.

The next regular business meeting of District Alliance, No. 19, S. T. & L. A., will be held at their new headquarters, No. 54, Central Square (third floor), Lynn, Mass., on Sunday, November 29, at 12 m.

All delegates are urgently requested to attend this meeting, as several matters of much importance concerning the organization must be acted upon.

Locals that have not yet filed their quarterly reports or have not paid their per capital tax to the mileage fund are hereby notified that they must attend to these matters not later than this district meeting.

Francis A. Walsh, Organizer.

## PRESENTS FOR BAZAAR AND FAIR.

Additional presents for the bazaar and fair to be held at Grand Central Palace on Thanksgiving Day, for the benefit of The Daily People, have been received as follows:

A. S. Dowler, Sierra Blanca, Texas, beautiful Mexican coin watch fob and ladies' coin bracelet; Section Hoboken, N. J., handsome sofa pillow, five boxes of children's games, box containing six cakes of fancy soap, match holder, tidy, two ornaments, powder box, inkstand and cigar ashholder; A. Moren, New York, three fine framed engravings; F. Gertler, New York, good razor; Mrs. Manthey, Brooklyn, N. Y., half-dozen beautiful ladies' neckwear; Mrs. Brauckman, New York, six elegant sewing baskets; Section Rockville, Conn., valuable suit pattern; Mrs. E. Sherman, Rockville, Conn., three fine fruit plates; D. C. Wismer, North Wales, Pa., collection of twelve books; Mrs. A. Orange, New York, half-dozen silver plated oyster forks; Max Heyman, New York, Suvio heater and two dozen mantels; Mrs. Touroff, New York, two shoeholders, two pair of fine crocheted woolen slippers, one doily; left over from last Fourth of July picnic, fine burnt wood whisk broom holders, bottle of tooth wash, soap holder, china pitcher, inkstand, and seven fine engravings; "Socialist," six fine perfume baskets; Miss Anna Wiperman, St. Louis, Mo., one pair hand-made pillow shams, beautiful silk scarf and two doilies; Mrs. George Rose, Stamford, Conn., small framed picture, fancy mustard pot, fancy cups and saucers, fancy table bell, glass bouquet-holder, fancy matchholders, smoker's tray and small vase; Patrick Quinlan, Hoboken, N. J., two fine vases; James J. Bosquett, Jersey City, N. J., two-pound package of fine tea; F. Herz, Washington, D. C., five books containing the latest views of Washington, with hazel shaving stick, three wax figures, two fine pocket looking glass holders, salt and pepper holders, two pairs of shirt sleeve holders, silver matchbox; C. Wolf, Corning, N. Y., box of chewing gum; C. Evans, Cincinnati, O., silk muffler and tobacco pouch; Mrs. Mary Ballhaus, Boston, Mass., two aprons and fine table cloth; Oscar Poehland, Brooklyn, N. Y., box containing set of draughtsman's instruments, three harmonicas; Ernest Romary, Paterson, N. J., two books, "Socialism and Science" and "Students," Marx.

Mrs. E. F. Wegener, Brooklyn, N. Y., whisk broom holder; J. Budd, Brooklyn, N. Y., two head rests; Mrs. G. W. Bonney, Brooklyn, basket of artificial flowers; Miss Madeline Bonney, two vases; Mrs. O'Neil, two vases; Miss L. Bonney, Brooklyn, N. Y., ornament; Miss May Bonney, two baskets and one wax figure; George W. Bonney, couple of fine ornaments; Miss J. Tepper, fine, large doll; J. Tepper, ornament; Mrs. O. Sherane, New York, seven fine ornaments and artificial flowers; Otto Ruckser, boy's summer shirt; Daily People Editorial Staff, elegant framed picture of Karl Marx; Miss Brown, New York, mantlepiece ornaments; John Kleinberger, New York, valuable flower stand; Mrs. A. Rutstein, New York, two pillow shams; L. Cohen, Philadelphia, Pa., five volumes "Stadt Hamburg" and fine bagatelle board; Mrs. A. Boland, silver-plated spoon; John Kelly, New York, two fine books; N. Strockman, New York, valuable imported pocketbook; F. W. Kunz, Brooklyn, N. Y., nine fine cups and saucers; George Urbach, Long Island City, elegant wood-carved newspaper holder.

**MASSACHUSETTS, ATTENTION!**  
Comrades:  
The State Executive Committee of Massachusetts has decided to keep Comrade Carroll, State Organizer, on the road until January 1st, when the party in the State having voted for a salaried secretary, who will act as organizer also, the latter will take hold and carry on the agitation.

Now, it will be necessary for the comrades to fall to and continue the work that has already been done to arouse the members of the working class out of the lethargy into which they have fallen. And it must be evident that it is also necessary to have funds to carry on the agitation, also to pay the salary of the organizer-secretary.

Let us hear from you more frequently than heretofore in the matter of the subscription lists sent to you for the organizer's fund. Don't forget all about that; the comrades have not responded as they should have, and, as a consequence, Boston and Greater Boston have had to bear the brunt of the financial burden.

Let us not let up, comrades! 1904 is almost upon us, and you must realize what it means to us of the S. L. P. Let not the fact that the capitalists are again in the saddle deter us. On with renewed vigor!

Comrades, roll up your sleeves and to work, to work, for it is only by hard, persistent work that we will build up the party in the State and nation. Build up your sections, carry on house to

L. Abelson, Organizer,  
2-6 New Road street, New York.

## BUSINESS DEPARTMENT NOTES

Another good week's work ended Saturday, November 21, with 411 subscriptions to The Weekly People secured. These were not secured in a few cities, but came to this office in small lots from a great many cities and towns all over the United States and Canada.

This is as it should be. In every industrial community in America we want workers for the press of the Socialist Labor Party. No matter what kind of people you are surrounded by, get subscriptions from them. Organize press clubs and visiting committees. Visit all the sympathizers you know of, then start in and canvass the working class districts. Roll up as big a circulation as you can.

State Committees should send out the mailing lists to members at large and sympathizers and put them to work. They are better acquainted with conditions in their respective States than we are and can do much towards pushing the circulation by systematic correspondence.

Blocks of prepaid blanks have been sold during the week as follows: Sections Hoboken, N. J., and Collinsville, Ill., two blocks each; Chicago, Lynn, Mass.; Hamilton, Ohio; Paterson, N. J., one each; Second and Fourth Assembly Districts, New York, ten blanks; Section Yonkers, N. Y., eight blanks; A. Francis, New York, four blanks; Eighteenth Assembly District, New York, three blanks.

John Easton writes from Wyoming that he is going to work for the movement out there. He orders \$15 worth of prepaid blanks and literature. That's the way to start in.

The following comrades have sent in five or more subscriptions for The Weekly People: Charles Pierson, St. Joseph, Mo.; C. E. Hagar, St. Louis, Mo.; J. J. Dolan, Lynn, Mass.; W. H. Walker, Seattle, Wash.; J. H. T. Juergens, Canton, O.; Section Seattle, Wash.; H. Kauffer, Red Lake Falls, Minn.; I. Baldelli, Brooklyn, N. Y.; T. A. Loring, Boston, Mass.; J. R. Berdan, Paterson, N. J.; J. A. Carmichael, Greenwich, Conn.; G. M. Carlson, Tacoma, Wash.; G. George Anderson, Los Angeles, Cal.; P. Neilson, Woburn, Mass.; 5.

For The Monthly People: J. Anderson, Gardner, Mass.; A. B. Lafreniere, Moosup, Conn.; Charles Pierson, St. Joseph, Mo.; 5. Total, 78.

Workers for the Party press are urged to send us all complaints of subscribers without delay. But please be specific in every instance and give us name, address and date when subscription was obtained, if possible, so as to enable us to look the matter up. Too many when sending complaints are so general in their statements that they give no clue and we are unable to do anything with them. Never say that "many readers complain they do not get the paper"; always say who it is that complains, and we shall then straighten the matter out. Bear in mind that we are as much interested in having the paper reach the subscriber regularly as you are.

## SPECIAL FUND.

(As per circular letter of Sept. 3, 1901.)  
Previously acknowledged.....\$7,949.62  
S. Schwartzman, City.....1.00  
J. E. —, Hoboken, N. J. 1.00  
J. S. —, Hoboken, N. J. 2.00  
B. E. Pickle.....15.00  
B. Reinstein, Buffalo, N. Y. 1.00  
M. Fagendahl, Seattle, Wash. 5.00  
C. B. —, Canton, Ohio.....50  
Section New Bedford, Mass. 5.00

Total.....\$7,980.12

## INTERESTING BROOKLYN LECTURE

A Western comrade will tell "Why American Workingmen Should Be Socialists," on Sunday, November 29, 8 p. m., at the Socialist Labor clubhouse, 813 Park avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y. Come and bring your family and friends.

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L. Abelson, Organizer,  
2-6 New Road street, New York.

house canvass, and all other means of agitation you can. Don't forget to push the party press, that beacon of enlightenment to our class, and by the time the campaign of 1904 is on we will be in good fighting trim all along the line.

Remember, we expect some financial assistance on this end, if we are to go ahead. So do what you can, and let us hear from you soon. In sending in donations or other monies for agitation in Massachusetts, send same to the undersigned: Wm. H. Young, 20 Ottawa street, Roxbury; Dyer Enger, 1190 Tremont street, Roxbury; Treasurer; Edgar E. Chester, 2555 Massachusetts avenue, North Cambridge, Cor. Secy.

State Agitation Committee,  
Massachusetts S. L. P.

## BUFFALO LABOR LYCEUM.

A series of public lectures is now being held every Sunday at 3.15 p. m., under the auspices of the Labor Lyceum, in Florence Parlors, 527 Main, near Genesee, street. They are delivered mostly by non-Socialists—noted reformers, lawyers, doctors, clergymen and politicians of the city—but the Lyceum is organized and entirely controlled by our Buffalo section, and during the discussion the comrades criticize the ideas of non-Socialists from the standpoint of the revolutionary, working class Socialism. Every man and woman should attend and learn to criticize the various ideas and notions of the non-Socialists. Admission is free to all.

The next lectures on the programme are as follows:

November 29—By Attorney Hamilton Ward, Jr., on "Legal Protection of Workmen Against Injuries."

December 6—By Attorney Philip V. Fernelly, on "Presumption of Innocence."

December 12—By Mr. W. A. Douglas, of Toronto, Canada; subject will be announced later.

December 20—By Hon. Attorney Arthur W. Hickman, on "Personal Rights."

December 27—By ex-Assemblyman Attorney Edw. R. O'Malley, on "Modern Methods of Legislation."

January 3—By Prof. J. E. Stagg, on "Evils of Socialism."

## BELLEVILLE, ILL., ATTENTION!

All S. L. P. members and readers of The Weekly People are requested to be present at the regular meeting of Section Belleville, Wednesday night, December 2, at Wasman's Hall, 123 East Main street, for the purpose of joining in the movement to help clear off the Party Press debt and to work more unitedly as a body to increase The Weekly People circulation in and around Belleville.

Walter Goss, Cor. Sec.  
701 Briston street, Belleville, Ill.

## ALLIANCE FAIR AND BALL.

Party and alliance members and readers of The People who are in sympathy with the principles of the S. T. & L. A. are requested to forward presents for a bazaar which is to be held in conjunction with the ball of District Alliance 49, S. T. & L. A., on Thursday evening, December 21 (New Year's eve), at Everett Hall, East Fourth street, Manhattan. Presents should be sent to James J. Hanlon, 813 Park avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.

## UNCLE SAM AND BROTHER JONATHAN.

(Continued from Page 4.)

does the absence of lords and dukes in our constitution do us if practically they are on our backs! Now go on with your No. 5.

B. J.—(as wet as a ducked hen and quite crest-fallen)—No, thank you. The starch is taken clean out of my "equality before the law."

U. S.—Now you may be able to understand what Socialists mean by "classes." The thing to look at is the material condition of man. According to his material conditions so will his aspirations and needs be. The men who own large capital constitute a class that needs not work. They can live upon the work of those who do not own any capital because without land on, and machinery with, which to labor man cannot exercise his functions as a worker. Thus we have two classes: 1. The idle capitalist class that has sponged upon the nation's wealth, and 2d, the working-class, or proletariat, who alone does all the work and produces all the wealth but lives in poverty. In between these two you have the middle class. It consists of people who have little property, just enough to keep them from working for others but not enough to compete with the big fellows. This middle class is going by the board fast. Catch on?

B. J.—I begin to see.

U. S.—All political struggles are conducted upon the lines of the class interests of these three. The big class wants to preserve their stolen goods; the middle class wants to prevent the big fellows from swallowing them up, but want to preserve the power of themselves fleeing the workers. The workers want to prevent all these vampires from fleeing them. Hence the class struggle of the proletariat is and must be conducted upon lines of abolishing the private ownership of the land and the machinery of production.

Without a workingman realizes the fact of class distinction, he will not understand that the Democratic and Republican parties, together with their organized Scabbey stool-pigeons, seek to protect the class that lives upon his back. Nor will he be able to see that his class interests direct him to join the Socialist Labor Party, and to vote straight the ticket headed by the Arm and Hammer.

## AS TO THE SCANDINAVIAN FEDERATION

BY J. A. STROMQUIST, SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.

Through the columns of the Swedish-American S. L. P. organ, "Arbetaren," I have become acquainted with the fact that a scheme to unite the various Scandinavian Socialist clubs and societies now existing throughout the East, into a "Federation of Scandinavian Socialist Clubs," is now under discussion.

In view of the object lesson furnished, in a similar case, by the "Italian Socialist Federation," I, as a member of the S. L. P., felt called upon to enter a protest, which I did by sending a letter to "Arbetaren," and as the matter is of great interest, not only to Scandinavians, but to every member of the S. L. P. who has the party's welfare at heart, I hereby reproduce the letter, in free translation, hoping it will find room in The People's columns. The letter follows:

"To Arbetaren:

"Uncertain whether discussion is as yet allowed concerning the matter, I, nevertheless forward these lines in the belief that they will be printed in consideration of the importance that every member of the S. L. P. (Scandinavian, or otherwise), ought to attach to the plan to unite all Scandinavian Socialist (S. L. P.) Clubs in the East in a federation with the aim of carrying on a better ordered and consequently more fruitful agitation, which has been put forth by the present traveling agent (canvasser), of 'Arbetaren,' A. H. Lyzell.

"I am not personally acquainted with Comrade Lyzell, but to judge by the write-ups from his pen that have appeared in 'Arbetaren' during the year now almost ended, I have no cause to doubt that he is, in every way, loyal to the principles of the S. L. P., and presume, therefore, that the motive which prompted him to propose his plan was the belief that its adoption would in some degree, assist in furthering the aims of the party, but that presumption only invites to a, for that reason, still more painful reflection on the soundness of Comrade L's judgment.

"It would seem that the reason which every S. L. P. man ought to have learned from the history of the founding and subsequent development of 'The Italian Socialist Federation' has been totally lost on Comrade Lyzell and his short-sighted supporters. Perhaps the parallel between the 'Italian Socialist Federation' and the prospective 'Federation of Scandinavian Socialist Clubs' is not in every detail fully applicable, the similarity is, in all events, striking enough to allow those who wish it to see that the parallel is going to hold good also in the development, i. e., that the 'Federation of Scandinavian Socialist Clubs,' however loyal its attitude may, in the beginning, be towards the S. L. P., will, nevertheless, in a more or less (probably less), distant future end up as 'neutral' between 'America's two Socialist parties,' which simply means to help the Kungs as there cannot be any 'neutrality' between a genuine and a bogus party however much the latter may make believe that it has 'the same end in view,' etc. For the rest, it must not be forgotten that we have not yet seen the end of the tactics of the 'Italian Socialist Federation,' but they are not likely to improve.

"Another point is overlooked by those who stand behind the prospective federation, namely, that the federation will be outside of S. L. P. jurisdiction, in other words, free from all official control of the S. L. P., and that therefore a clash between the governing bodies and the membership of the two organizations will almost certainly take place, in a near future, on account of dissimilar views on tactics, or other questions.

Alexander the Great, although he lived several hundred years ago, realized the gravity of such a situation when he refused the overtures for peace made by the Persians' king, Darius, in these words: 'As two suns cannot shine beside one another in the firmament, neither can two empires exist beside one another on earth,' and he followed up his opinion by annihilating Darius and taking possession of his country.

"This illustration is useful as showing that two authorities cannot exist side by side in the same field of endeavor. Sooner or later it must come to a clash in which one or the other must give way and Scandinavian members of the S. L. P. ought to think more than once before they rush off to erect an authority which, in the nature of things, will sooner or later be forced to act in opposition to the S. L. P.

Those who have taken the initiative in this matter have declared that the planned federation would make possible more systematic, and consequently more fruitful agitation, especially as the Scandinavian Socialist field of endeavor should be principally among newly arrived nationals, or such as have not yet been here long enough to learn the language or get used to their altered conditions, and who were on that account more or less inaccessible to S. L. P. agitation. This looks rather plausible at first blush, but subjected to a closer scrutiny we find that the expected advantages dwindle considerably in importance, or even totally disappear. That the uniting under one central authority of a number of at present isolated clubs would enable these to do their work more efficiently is self-evident, but why form a special federation (with all the danger that such a course implies) when we have our S. L. P., which just as well, or better, can handle that matter. I cannot possibly,

see why a Scandinavian should be inaccessible to S. L. P. agitation, except in the case when he has been in this country so short a time that he is still a stranger to its language and customs, and in such a case he can certainly not be of any use as an aid to the introduction of Socialism in this country. Besides, it is very doubtful if you